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THE CLARENDON SERIES OF LATIN AND GREEK AUTHORS

☛ *Extract from the Preface to Caesar, Books IV & V, by
Mr. R. W. Livingstone*

“ONE great difficulty besets all schoolmasters in teaching the early stages of Greek and Latin. The pupil knows so little of the language that he can only prepare short passages for a lesson, and in a Term's work he does not get far. Further, in his struggle with the language, he misses the general sense of what he is reading; in the effort to make out each individual sentence of Caesar, he becomes blind to Caesar's meaning. Fighting his way through the thick jungle of a foreign tongue, he makes small progress, and (what is worse) soon losing all sense of direction, sees no further than the entangling words immediately under his eyes. It is difficult for a boy in such conditions to realize that the book is by a human being and on matters of real interest. The result is often boredom and sometimes a lasting distaste for the subject; and both education and the classics suffer. Nor is there any obvious remedy. If you try to read fast, you lose the accuracy and attention to detail which are absolutely essential in groundwork.

“THE PRESENT EDITION springs from two years' public-school experience during the War, and attempts to meet the difficulty just described. The idea—which I believe to be new—is to translate about two pages of Caesar into English for every one page that is left in Latin. There is no idea of making Caesar easier. I have only tried, as far as is consistent with

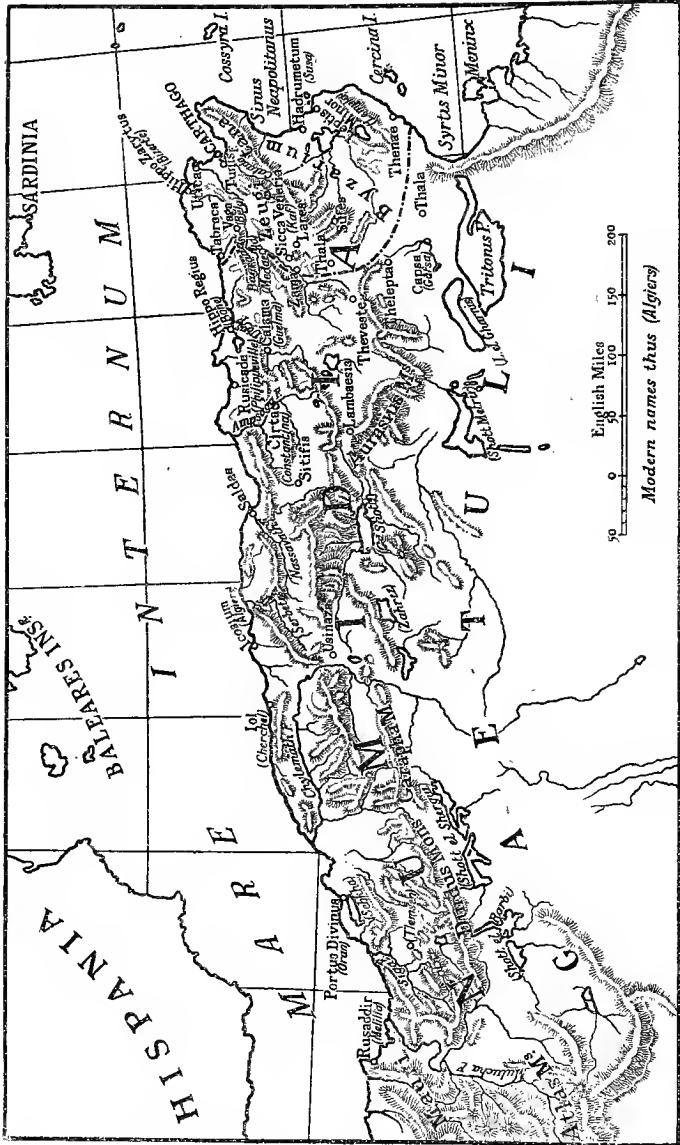
“preserving the due proportions of Latin and English, to retain in Latin the
“most interesting and typical passages. The lesson to be prepared will be a
“portion of Latin and a portion of English. The amount of the translated
“passages in the lesson will vary somewhat; but there is no reason why lessons
“should be mechanically uniform, and I do not think that any real difficulty
“will arise in this connexion.

“THE SYSTEM should secure four advantages :

- “1. Much more Caesar can be read than under the old method. Boys in
“a lower-fifth form should be able to go through the greater part of
“*The Gallic War* in a year. Some of it will indeed have been read
“in English; but even in English Caesar is Caesar, and they will
“have got a grasp of his great work as a whole.
- “2. It is generally agreed that more attention should be given in schools
“to the subject-matter of the classics. But if considerable portions
“are read in English, it will be impossible not to be aware of, and,
“it is hoped, interested in, the story. The notes on the English
“portions are particularly intended to call attention to points of
“historical and literary interest.
- “3. At the same time, this method allows of full attention being given to
“linguistic and grammatical points in the Latin portions of the text.
- “4. The English portions may be found useful for retranslation into
“Latin Prose.”

¶ *The Success of the Experiment*

THE welcome given by schools to the edition of Caesar's *Gallic War*, IV & V, has persuaded the Delegates that the method can be fruitfully applied to other writings and writers. They have secured the service as General Editor of Mr. R. W. LIVINGSTONE (Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, and author of *The Greek Genius and its Meaning to Us*, &c.), the originator of the method, and have in preparation, or projected, volumes drawn from AESCHYLUS, ARISTOPHANES, HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, XENOPHON, LUCRETIUS, LIVY (two volumes), CAESAR (several volumes, including a volume from the *Civil War*), SALLUST (two volumes), TACITUS, &c. Among those who are contributing to the series are Mr. CYRIL BAILEY (Tutor of Balliol College), Mr. HAROLD BUTLER (Professor of Latin in the University of London), Mr. C. E. FREEMAN (General Editor of the popular Junior Latin Series, &c.), Mr. JOHN JACKSON (translator of Virgil and Marcus Aurelius in the Oxford Translation Series, editor of Horace, *Select Odes*), Mr. D. C. MACGREGOR (Tutor of Balliol College), Mr. M. R. RIDLEY (Tutor of Balliol College), Mr. C. E. ROBINSON (of Winchester College), Mr. A. E. ZIMMERN (formerly Tutor of New College, and author of *The Greek Commonwealth*, &c.).



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S A L L U S T

The Jugurthine War

Partly in the Original and partly in Translation

Edited by

H. E. BUTLER

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OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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PREFACE

THE aim of this book is to make it possible for a class to read the *Jugurtha* within the restricted time available for the teaching of Latin. It is a work which is in many ways eminently suited for school reading, but has suffered a certain neglect owing to its length. The principle adopted in the present series of textbooks should eliminate this difficulty and enable a student to get a good idea of the nature of Sallust's writing without sacrificing his subject matter. No attempt has been made to proportion the lengths of Latin and English with precision. It should require no great ingenuity on the part of the teacher to surmount such difficulty as the disproportion between Latin and English may on occasion present. The translation makes no attempt at literalness, and phrases have at times been omitted with a view to reducing the bulk of the book, while a few chapters (17-19 and 77-79) have been merely summarized. The notes have been kept within narrow limits; with the aid of the vocabulary and the commentary the student should be able to produce an adequate rendering of the Latin, while the more detailed instruction may and should be left to the teacher, for whom it is scarcely necessary to point out that such textbooks are not designed: it has also been assumed that the student called upon to read Sallust will have a somewhat more advanced knowledge of Latin than those who have not progressed beyond Caesar. Little has been said about the style of Sallust; such discussions are apt to pass over the heads of all save the more advanced students or to be tacitly ignored. Here again such instruction, if it be thought desirable, must be left to the individual teacher: the information is easily accessible and it is for the teacher to give it life, if he feels that his pupils are ripe for such instruction.

The fullest account in English of the Jugurthine war will be found in the late Mr. A. H. J. Greenidge's *History of Rome* (Methuen), to which I desire specially to acknowledge my indebtedness.

H. E. BUTLER.

INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE AND WORK OF SALLUST

THE *Jugurthine War* opens with a lengthy preface which has at first sight no connexion with the subject of the book or, indeed, with history in general. For it is an eloquent sermon on the glory and permanence of the things of the spirit as opposed to the transience and unworthiness of the things of the body. It is written with rare eloquence, but what is its purport? As we read on, we realize that it is intended as a defence of the author's retirement from public life and his choice of history as the occupation of his leisure. But why should this be necessary? The key to the riddle is to be found in such information as we possess of Sallust's life and character. While there is general agreement as to the greatness of the writer, there is no less agreement as to the unworthiness of the man. He is represented as a turbulent politician and an unscrupulous voluptuary, who owed the immense wealth which enabled him to close his life in ease and splendour to the plunder amassed in one year of rule over a Roman province. We have no means of testing these allegations, but there can be little doubt that the preface is designed as an indirect defence of his character against aspersions such as these. We may regard it either as the dignified utterance of one who has pursued high ideals all his days, or as the statement of one who has seen the error of his ways. Whether it is sincere or no more than a magnificent piece of hypocrisy, it could not be better done and tempts us to give its author the benefit of the doubt.

The details that have reached us concerning his life are few. Gaius Sallustius Crispus was one of those *novi homines* or self-made men, to whom he alludes so often. Born at Amiternum in the Sabine hills (86 B. C.), he became tribune of the plebs in 52 and made himself conspicuous by his turbulent conduct in connexion with the trial of Milo for the murder of the demagogue Clodius. Two years later his name was struck off the roll of the senate by the censor Appius Claudius on the ground of his licentious life. How far the charge was just we do not know, but it was in any case a convenient means of getting rid of a political opponent. His exclusion was but brief. On the outbreak of the civil war in the following year he espoused the cause of Caesar and was rewarded with the quaestorship which made him a senator once more. In 48 he commanded a legion in Illyria, while in 47 he became praetor and was charged with the task of conveying troops to Africa for service against the senatorial army. After a narrow escape from death at the hands of mutineers, we find him in Africa conducting successful operations against the enemy in the island of Cercina. In 46 he became proconsul of Numidia, which had been annexed after the overthrow of Juba I and his senatorial allies. Of the events of his governorship we know nothing, but on his return to Rome we find him a millionaire living in a stately house on the Quirinal, with gardens whose magnificence made them the wonder of Rome. In 45 he married Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero, and in 44, on the death of Caesar, retired from public life to devote himself to literature until his death in 35 B. C.

During these nine years he wrote, first, his two surviving essays on Catiline and the Jugurthine war, and then a history of Rome during the twelve years following the death of Sulla (78 B. C.), a work of which only a few

striking fragments survive. At the time of his death he was undoubtedly without a peer among the historians of Rome, while more than a century after his death the poet Martial and the critic Quintilian still speak of him as the greatest of Roman historians. There are few modern critics who would place him on the same level as Livy, but his gifts are great and unquestionable, and we must turn to consider how they are displayed in his history of the Jugurthine war.

THE *DE BELLO JUGURTHINO*.

The first and most powerful impression that is left with us after reading the *Jugurthine War* is the extraordinary vividness with which a number of thrilling scenes and striking characters have been presented. The battle on the hills above the Muthul, Jugurtha facing the mob at Rome, the massacre at Vaga, the storming of the rock-fortress on the Moroccan frontier, the drama of the negotiations between Bocchus and Sulla, and above all the splendidly contrasted characters of the two heroes, Metellus and Marius, are not easily forgotten. And behind these vivid colours there are, as it were, two backgrounds, the material background of the wild African landscape through which the Romans pursue their elusive enemy, and the moral background of the seething political life at Rome, loud with the murmur of the coming storm, the struggle between the domineering aristocracy and the less articulate people, so soon to burst into actual civil war. As impressionists there are few writers ancient or modern who are Sallust's superiors.

But if we go behind these first impressions we begin to realize that what we have read in many ways bears a closer resemblance to a great epic poem or historical novel than to history in the modern sense of the word.

Chronology and geography both are blurred and vague, and it is hard to grasp either the campaign as a whole or the plan of the individual battles. But we must remember that the ideals of historians have changed. Far less detailed research was possible in ancient times and far less was expected. The absence of maps based on geographical surveys and of the detailed dispatches of generals made accurate military history impossible. The absence of reporters led the historian to insert speeches, dramatically appropriate, but often wholly imaginary or based on the most fragmentary evidence. And in any case history was regarded more from the literary and artistic standpoint than from the scientific. While, therefore, we may feel how much we lose owing to the superficial treatment which Sallust gives his theme, we must not judge him by the standards of to-day, but rather consider his own aims and methods.

Sallust was the first of Roman writers to develop that vivid and dramatic method of presentation, of which we have already spoken. He abandons the methods of the old chroniclers who dealt with events year by year in the actual order in which they occurred, without seeking to group them or explain their significance. Throughout the *Jugurthine War* there is ever present the thought of its political importance in the history of Rome. It was a war that added not an inch of territory to her empire and gave her no advantages superior to those which she possessed before Jugurtha disturbed the peace of Africa. But for Sallust its real importance lay in the fact that the triumph of Marius marked the first great blow struck on the side of the people in the struggle which ended, after years of civil war, in the triumph of Caesar. He does not trace its after-effects, but contents himself with showing how a man of the people worked his way to political and military power,

which enabled him to appear at a later date as the first of the great revolutionary soldiers to establish a political supremacy at Rome. But though he writes from the standpoint of the popular party and reserves his greatest eloquence for the speeches of the democrats Memmius and Marius, his work has nothing of the party pamphlet about it. The stories which he tells of the bribing of Bestia, Scaurus, or the tribune Baebius may be false: their action can, at any rate, be more charitably explained. But his version of the facts was, undoubtedly, one which had found wide credence among their contemporaries and cannot be confidently rejected as untrue. Again he is fairness itself to Metellus. He and Marius are portrayed as two great opposing types, the highest developments of the classes from which they are sprung, but there is no attempt to exalt Marius at the expense of Metellus. And here, as in the *Catiline*, where his impartiality is open to grave doubt, he succeeds in producing the impression of justice and openness of mind. Whatever the faults of his work tried by the highest standards, he has succeeded in telling a fascinating and exciting story with extraordinary skill. If it is not history, it is still magnificent.

SALLUST'S STYLE

Whatever Latin prose author we may read before we come to Sallust, be it Cicero, Caesar, or Livy, we cannot fail to be struck by the contrast. He has nothing of the smooth undulating continuity which marks those authors. The sentences are shorter, more broken, and more varied. The language, too, is more richly coloured and the phrases more pointed and epigrammatic. His vocabulary is full of words and his sentences of constructions which, though common in earlier writers, were falling out of use in literary Latin, though they

may often have lived on in the common speech. Further, he enlarges the range of Latin prose by imitations of Greek idiom and by the free use of poetic words and constructions. Finally, there is a conciseness of language produced partly by the omission of connecting particles, partly by the avoidance of words which can easily be supplied, and partly again by the use of vivid constructions such as the historic infinitive. This conciseness of language receives further assistance, not so much from actual brevity of description as from the omission of much that a modern writer would have considered necessary for the adequate understanding of the story, but which Sallust regards as superfluous for the purpose which he has in view. The result is an impression of speed and brevity which ancient writers note as his special characteristic. There is, it may be, a certain studied and self-conscious artificiality about his style, but of its vigour, vivacity, and picturesqueness there cannot be a moment's doubt.

NUMIDIA

One of the first questions that must occur to us when we read the *Jugurthine War* is, Who were the Numidians? and what was the nature of the country in which they lived and what was its importance to Rome? With the first question Sallust does make some attempt to deal. He tells us on the authority of a work by Hiempsal II, king of Numidia some thirty years after Jugurtha's death, that the Numidians derived their name from the fact that they were nomads, that is to say a pastoral people who roamed with their flocks in search of pasture, and further that their race was a blend of Persian and Gaetulian. The Gaetulians were an indigenous race living to the south along the northern edge of the Sahara, while the Persians had crossed the

straits from Spain, where they had been serving in the army of Hercules until his death caused it to break up. Similarly the Moors further west were the result of fusion between the native Libyans and Medes and Armenians from the army of Hercules. Under the manifest absurdities of this story there lies a grain of truth. For, as far as may be judged, the race which, apart from the comparatively small Greek and Phoenician populations, occupied the whole of North Africa from the Atlantic to the frontiers of Egypt was formed by the fusion of a fair-skinned, blue-eyed race from Europe and a dark-skinned people from the regions bordering on the desert. This race survives to-day in the Berbers or Kabyles, who are found in many of the mountainous regions of Morocco and Algiers, and whose language is spoken by the Tuaregs of the desert and is found throughout the Sahara as far as the Niger and Senegal. The present population of Algiers and Morocco has been profoundly modified by Arab invasions, but the fair type is still common in Algeria and accounts for a third of the population of Morocco. The ancient Numidians were, like their descendants, a hardy race, jealous of their tribal independence and rarely united, save when the personality of some great warrior and ruler like Masinissa succeeded for a while in effecting political union. The derivation of their name from the Greek word *Nomas* is impossible from the point of view of language and only expresses a very partial historical truth. At any rate by the time of Jugurtha they were a sturdy agricultural people with an organized village life, and under the influence of Greek, Phoenician, and Roman traders had established not a few important cities, although where pastoral life predominated over agricultural, there would, no doubt, be the usual migration between winter and summer grazing stations.

They were famous as horsemen ; their cavalry serving under Hannibal had been the terror of Italy, and was to baffle the Romans once more by its elusive mobility in the Jugurthine war.

What of the country? In the first place it is important to note its extent. After the destruction of Carthage in 146, Rome annexed the territory which belonged to her great rival. It was a comparatively small region, 200 miles from north to south, and barely 100 from east to west, corresponding in fact to the northern half of the modern Tunisia. It was embedded in the kingdom of Numidia, which extended from the river Mulucha (now Muluya) in the west to Cyrenaica in the east, that is to say, from a point slightly west of the present Moroccan frontier of Algeria to the frontier between Tunisia and Tripoli, a distance of more than 900 miles. Its southern frontier was ill-defined, but probably corresponded roughly with the line of mountains that at a mean distance of some 150 miles divide the highlands of Algeria from the wastes of the Sahara. The casual reader of Sallust is in danger of forming rather a melodramatic conception of the North African landscape, to think of it, that is, as a land of torrid deserts and inaccessible crags. That is far from being the impression which the traveller gets to-day, though the climate has probably changed for the worse, the rainfall being less and the streams reduced in flow. The land rises rapidly from the coast and forms vast plateaux at a height of some 2,000 feet above the sea. These, however, are far from being deserts, but rejoice in a fertile soil and one of the healthiest of climates. It is not till the southern range is passed that the desert proper is reached. But there is plenty of wild scenery to be found, from the fantastic mountains lying between Algiers and Bougie or the desolate limestone cliffs of the Jebel Aurès

north of Biskra to the unsurpassed beauty of the highland country in the neighbourhood of the river Medjerda (the ancient Bagradas), while in the south-east corner in the neighbourhood of Capsa and Thala we are on the verge of the great desert. But we must beware of regarding the land which later under Roman rule became the granary of the empire, and was also rich in vineyards and olives, as being other than one of the finest countries in the world.

Despite such attractions Rome did not for the moment seek to extend her sway beyond the narrow limits of the province of Africa. Her hands were too full elsewhere, and her rulers realized only too well the immense difficulties which would confront them in an attempt to conquer Numidia by force of arms. Masinissa had been a loyal friend and a vigorous and enlightened ruler, and when he died, about the time of the fall of Carthage, Rome was well content to extend the same friendship to Micipsa, who, if he was a man of peace compared with his father, had as clear a conception of the value of civilization and sought to make his capital, Cirta, a centre of Greek culture. When eventually Rome became involved in war with Jugurtha, it was forced upon her, and she entered on the campaign with no designs of annexing fresh territory. The difficulties of holding such a vast domain, inhabited by such a warlike race, was a sufficient deterrent, while peaceful penetration by her traders was a surer and more profitable policy. This attitude comes out clearly during the Jugurthine war in the repeated attempts of Roman generals to avoid a protracted struggle and to patch up a negotiated peace at almost any cost. When at last Jugurtha was taken, there was no annexation. Numidia was reduced in size, but what she lost went to

the Moorish king Bocchus, whose frontiers were advanced 500 miles eastward to the neighbourhood of Saldæ (now Bougie). Gauda, the feeble prince of whose aspirations Sallust speaks (c. 65), was placed on the throne of the warrior Jugurtha, and it was not till 46 B. C., after the intervention of Numidia in the civil war, that her territory was annexed by Rome and Sallust sent to be her first governor.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AT ROME

The main reason which Sallust gives for his choice of the Jugurthine war as a theme is that the rise of the commoner Marius to power marked an epoch in the struggle between the people and the aristocracy (c. 5). Later (c. 41) he gives a brief and rhetorical, though in its general aspect not unfair, sketch of the degeneracy which followed on the overthrow of Carthage and the extension of Rome's dominions to Spain and South Gaul in the west; Africa in the south; Macedonia, Greece, and Asia Minor in the east. It is impossible to give a summary of the history of this period in such a work as this, but the outline given by Sallust requires a certain amount of comment and amplification.

The one permanent element in the government of Rome was the senate. The senator held office for life, the magistrate only for a year. The senate was composed of ex-magistrates and represented the collective wisdom of the community. In theory the ultimate decision in all matters lay with the people, while their magistrates, the tribunes of the plebs, had the power to veto legislation and to impose their will upon the consuls. But a long series of foreign wars had reduced the power of the people to a minimum. They had not the knowledge or experience to enable them to frame the policy of the state in dealing with so formidable an

adversary as Carthage or with the many and increasing problems of empire which arose after that enemy's defeat. The senate had saved Rome in the Punic wars and came to be regarded as practically supreme. It was composed of men of the same type and the same interests, drawn from a few noble families; the admission of fresh blood in the persons of *novi homines* was rare: the chief magistracies became the private property of the aristocracy and the senate a close and all-powerful corporation. And as the years went by they tended more and more to become grasping, self-seeking, and corrupt, while the increase of wealth and luxury undermined private morality as well. The authority of the senate had been momentarily shaken by the reformers, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. But after their assassination, in 133 and 121 respectively, the senate resumed for a while its undisputed sway, with the difference only that its victory made its arrogance and corruption still worse than before.

Sallust does not deal with the great economic and political problems of the day. He had no reason to do so. He is content to insist on the importance of the rise of Marius to power. Unlike previous democratic leaders he was a great soldier, and it was the soldier politician, such as Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar, who was for the future to sway the destinies of the republic.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR

Preface.

‘Life is brief and man is weak ; chance rules all and virtue goes for naught.’ So cries mankind. But they
2 deceive themselves. Look closer, and what shall you find that is greater or more highly to be praised than man’s nature ? For it is not strength nor length of
3 days he lacks, but the will to work. The ruler and governor of this mortal life is the soul, which, if it follow after fame by the way of virtue, has power, might, and renown in plenty, nor needs help of fortune, since upright-ness and energy and all other excellences are
4 beyond her power to give or take away. But if the soul, enslaved by base desire, falls to indolence and sensual indulgence, for a brief space enjoying its disastrous lusts, then so soon as sloth has wasted time, strength, and wit, the blame is laid upon the infirmity of our nature, and the sinner reproaches not himself, but the
5 perversity of things. Yet, if men pursued that which is good with that zeal which they give to winning alien things that will profit them naught, but oft bring them to destruction, they would control that chance of which they are now the sport, and would climb to such a height of greatness that in place of this transitory life they should have glory everlasting.

2 For as man is composed of body and soul, so all our possessions and pursuits hang on the nature either
2 of body or of soul. Thus, beauty, great riches, bodily strength, and the like all pass swiftly away, but the
3 triumphs of the mind are like the soul immortal. Lastly all good things, whether of the body or of fortune, end even as they began, and all things rise but to set, and wax but to wane. Only the soul, itself incorruptible and the eternal ruler of mankind, moves all things and
4 possesses all in perfect freedom. Wherefore there is all the more cause to marvel at the perversity of those

who pass their days in luxury and indolence, enslaved to the pleasures of the body, but suffer the mind, than which there is nothing greater or better in this mortal nature, to grow dull through neglect and sloth, notwithstanding that the mind has so many and varied accomplishments at command, whereby it may win to the summits of renown.

But of all such paths to fame, the least to be desired 3 at this present time are magistracies and commands and service of the state, since worth will not bring a man to public office, while those that win to high places by foul means are none the more secure or honoured in their position of power. For though 'tis true that by force 2 we may rule our country and our kin and chastise wickedness, yet is it a perilous emprise, more especially since all changes of government are accompanied by slaughter and banishments and other abominations. But to struggle in vain and get naught from all our toil 3 save hatred only is utter madness. And yet some there 4 be that are consumed by base desire to forfeit their own honour and freedom that so they may win the favour of a powerful few.

Now of those pursuits of the understanding that 4 remain for our choice the most profitable is the writing of history. Many have spoken of its excellences, and I 2 therefore will say naught thereon, nor would I have any man regard me as a braggart exalting my own art by vainglorious praise. But it is like that there will be 3 some, who, because I have resolved to pass my life far from business of state, will brand my labours as mere idleness, great and profitable though they be. Such at least will be the way of those whose utmost effort is confined to greeting the rabble with lavish courtesies and seeking to win men's love by keeping open house. Yet if such as judge me will reflect, when it was that 4 I obtained office, and who they were that failed where I succeeded, and what manner of men later were given entry to the senate, they will assuredly conclude that reason, not indolence led me to change my purpose, and that the state is like to get more profit from my leisure than from other men's business. For I have often 5 heard that Quintus Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other

famous Romans used to say that there was naught so kindled their souls to the pursuit of virtue as the contemplation of the portraits of their forefathers. Now it was not the mere sight of these that had such power upon them, but the memory of great deeds that fanned the fire that burned unquenchable in those heroic hearts, till by their own virtue they had matched the fame and glory of their fathers of old. But who, amid the all-devouring wickedness of these days, does not rather seek to surpass his forefathers in riches and extravagance rather than in energy and uprightness? Even commoners, who in old time were wont to outstrip the nobles by worth alone, now strive to win place and power by stealthy cunning and foul play; as though praetors and consuls were glorious and magnificent in themselves and did not win the esteem in which they are held by worth alone. But the grief and vexation that overcome me when I consider the ways of this generation have wrought upon me to speak too much and too forthright, and it behoves me to return to the task that I have taken on me to perform.

Events leading up to the story of Jugurtha.

5 The story which I am about to tell is that of the war between Rome and Jugurtha, king of Numidia. I have made this choice, firstly because it was a great war, fiercely fought and with varying success, and secondly because it was the occasion of the first serious challenge to the pride of the nobles. The ensuing strife wrought such havoc among all our institutions, human or divine, and reached such a pitch of madness that war and the desolation of Italy made an end of our freedom. But before I begin my tale, I must recall certain things that happened in earlier days, that those that read may have a clearer and readier understanding.

4 In the second war with Carthage, wherein Hannibal struck Italy a sorer blow than any she had endured since Rome had attained her full stature, Masinissa, king of Numidia, was admitted to our friendship by Publius Scipio, later styled Africanus, and afterward wrought many glorious feats of arms. In return for his help, after the fall of Carthage and the taking of Syphax,

the lord of a great kingdom in Africa, the Roman people bestowed upon Masinissa all the cities and lands that he had seized by force of arms. Wherefore he remained our faithful ally, and his friendship brought us no small honour. At his death the royal power was divided between his three sons Micipsa, Mastanabal, and Gulussa. The two last were carried off by sickness so that Micipsa reigned alone. He had two sons named Adherbal and Hiempsal and a nephew whom he brought up as though he had been his own child, to wit, Jugurtha, the natural son of his brother Mastanabal.

Jugurtha, loved by all for his prowess, is sent by Micipsa to serve with the Romans in the Numantine war, that so he may be slain. But he prospers mightily and becomes the friend of the Roman general, Scipio.

Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus decora facie sed multo maxume ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare iaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare et, cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire, plurimum facere, minimum ipse de se loqui. quibus rebus Micipsa, tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existumans virtutem Iugurthae regno suo gloriae fore, tamen postquam hominem adulescentem exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperi et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea opportunitas suae liberorumque aetatis, quae etiam mediocris viros spe praedae transvorsos agit; ad hoc studia Numidarum in Iugurtham accensa, ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur anxius erat. his difficultatibus circumventus ubi videt neque per vim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum

popularibus, quod erat Iugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum obiectare periculis
 2 et eo modo fortunam temptare. igitur bello Numantino Micipsa, cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium saevitia facile eum occasurum, praefecit Numidis,
 3 quos in Hispaniam mittebat. sed ea res longe aliter ac
 4 ratus erat evenit. nam Iugurtha, ut erat inpigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore multaue cura, praeterea modestissime parendo et saepe obviam eundo periculis in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis
 5 maxumo terrori esset. ac sane, quod difficillimum in primis est, et proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex
 6 audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. igitur imperator omnis fere res asperas per Iugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti, quippe cuius neque consilium neque inceptum ullum
 7 frustra erat. huc adcedebat munificentia animi et ingeni sollertia, quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia coniunxerat.

Jugurtha's ambition is kindled by unscrupulous Romans.

8 At that time there were in our army not a few, both commoner and noble, who set the winning of wealth above the pursuit of honour and virtue. At home they were turbulent partisans, abroad they made themselves powerful among our allies, and though they made a name, it was not a name of honour. These men enflamed the ambitious heart of Jugurtha by promising that, when Micipsa was dead, he should reign alone over all Numidia, saying that he was a man of great parts and there was naught that money could not buy at Rome.

Scipio's warning.

But after the destruction of Numantia, Publius 2
 Scipio, having resolved to dismiss his auxiliary forces
 and himself to return home, first rewarded and praised
 Jugurtha before all the army and then, taking him apart
 into his tent, bade him seek the friendship of the Roman
 people by public acts rather than by private intrigue,
 nor ever to put his trust in the power of gifts. 'It is
 perilous,' he said, 'to buy from a few what belongs
 to many. Continue to exercise those talents that are
 your own, and glory and power will come unasked.
 But seek to move too fast, and the money that you
 pour forth will work your own doom.' After these 9
 words he sent him home with a letter for Micipsa,
 of which this was the purport: 'Your nephew Jugurtha 2
 has approved himself the most valiant man in the war
 against Numantia, whereof you will be right glad. He
 is dear to me for his own worth, and I will do all that I
 may to make him no less dear to the senate and people
 of Rome. In Jugurtha you have a man worthy of
 yourself and of his grandsire Masinissa.'

Micipsa adopts Jugurtha.

When the king found from Scipio's letter that rumour 3
 had spoken true, he sought to win Jugurtha's love
 by showing him all manner of favour, made him his son
 by adoption and joint-heir with his own sons: for he
 both honoured his worth and feared his power. A few 4
 years after, when brought low by old age and sickness
 he perceived that his end was near, he is said to have
 spoken to Jugurtha after this fashion, in the presence of
 his counsellors and kinsfolk and of his two sons
 Adherbal and Hiempsal:

Micipsa's speech.

'Jugurtha, you were fatherless, without hopes or 10
 wealth, when I welcomed you to my kingdom, deeming
 that gratitude would make me no less dear to you than
 to my own sons. My hope has found fulfilment. For, 2
 to say naught of your other great and manifold excel-
 lences, you brought honour and glory to myself and my

kingdom from your warfare in Spain, and by your valour turned to love the good will that the Romans had toward me. The honour of our house has flowered anew in the fields of Spain. And furthermore you accomplished what is most hard for man's achievement :
 3 you won glory without enkindling enmity. And now, since my end draws near, by this right hand and by the honour of a king, I charge you to love these, your kin by blood and brothers by adoption, nor ever to prize
 4 the love of strangers above that of kith and kin. For it is not armies nor treasure that keep kingdoms in security but friends : and they cannot be won by force or bought
 5 by gold, but are gotten by loyalty and true service. And what closer bond is there than the love of brothers? and what stranger shall be true to you, if you are false
 6 to your own kin? Naught shall shake the kingdom that I leave to you, my sons, if only you prove true: play false, and your realm shall have no sure foundation. For unity makes little things grow great, whereas
 7 dissension brings the mightiest fortunes to ruin. But the task of seeing that naught falls out amiss will be yours, Jugurtha, rather than your brothers'; for you are their elder in years and wisdom. And in every quarrel, the stronger, even though it be he that suffers wrong, is regarded as the wrongdoer, because he is the
 8 stronger. And do you, Adherbal and Hiempsal, honour and love Jugurtha for what he is ; imitate his virtue and strive to save me from the reproach of having found a better man in my adopted son than in those whom I begot.'

Micipsa dies. The three kings meet for a conference.

11 Ad ea Iugurtha tametsi regem ficta locutum intellegebat et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro
 2 tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. postquam illi more regio iusta magnifice
 3 fecerant, reguli in unum convenerunt, ut inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis erat, natura ferox et iam antea ignobilitatem Iugurthae, quia materno genere impar erat,

despiciens, dextra Adherbalem adsedit, ne medius
 ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Iugurtha 4
 foret. dein tamen ut aetati concederet fatigatus a fratre,
 vix in partem alteram transductus est. ibi cum multa 5
 de administrando imperio dissererent, Iugurtha inter
 alias res iacit, oportere quinquenni consulta et decreta
 omnia rescindi: nam per ea tempora confectum annis
 Micipsam parum animo valuisse. tum idem Hiempsal 6
 placere sibi respondit: nam ipsum illum tribus proxumis
 annis adoptatione in regnum pervenisse. quod verbum 7
 in pectus Iugurthae altius quam quisquam ratus erat
 descendit. itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius 8
 moliri parare atque ea modo cum animo habere, quibus
 Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. quae ubi tardius 9
 procedunt neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis
 modo inceptum perficere.

Jugurtha has Hiempsal assassinated.

Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra 12
 memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi the-
 sauros finisque imperi singulis constitui. itaque tempus 2
 ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam
 distribuendam. reguli interea in loca propinqua
 thesauris alius alio concessere. sed Hiempsal in oppido 3
 Thirmida forte eius domo utebatur, qui proximus lictor
 Iugurthae carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat. quem ille
 casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat impellitque, uti
 tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum clavis
 adulterinas paret—nam verae ad Hiempsalem refere-
 bantur—ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum
 magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi 4
 conficit atque, uti doctus erat, noctu Iugurthae milites
 introducit. qui postquam in aedis irrupere, divorsi 5
 regem quaerere, dormientis alios alios occurrentis
 interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu

et tumultu omnia miscere, cum interim Hiempsal reperitur occultans se tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo initio pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput eius, uti iussi erant, ad Iugurtham referunt.

Adherbal flies to Rome.

- 13 In a short time the news of this foul murder filled all Africa. Adherbal and all those whom Micipsa had ruled were stricken with terror and Numidia was divided into two factions. Most followed Adherbal, but the more
 2 warlike favoured Jugurtha, who therefore armed all whom he could gather round him, took possession of cities either by fear or their good will, and prepared to
 3 make himself master of all Numidia. Adherbal, although he had sent ambassadors to Rome to inform the senate of his brother's death and his own plight, none the less, relying on the numbers at his command, made ready for
 4 war. But, vanquished in the first affray, he fled into the province of Africa and afterwards proceeded to Rome.
 5 Then Jugurtha having fulfilled his designs and being in the way to master all Numidia, began at his leisure to reflect on what he had done, to fear how Rome would take it and to feel that his one hope of escape from her wrath lay in the greed of the nobles and his own wealth.
 6 And so he too shortly sent ambassadors to Rome, laden with silver and gold, and charged first to glut his old friends with gifts, then to win new friends and to effect all that lay within the power of bribes to perform.
 7 When the ambassadors were come to Rome, in accordance with the king's command they sent splendid gifts to his friends and others who at that time were powerful in the senate, whereby they so changed men's opinion that Jugurtha's cause, for which the nobles had shown
 8 little liking, now became very dear to them. For moved by hope or by the gifts they had received, they wrought upon the senate to the end that they might do naught
 9 against Jugurtha. So soon, then, as the ambassadors were sure of success, the senate gave audience to both parties. Whereupon Adherbal, it is said, spoke in this fashion :

Adherbal's speech.

'Fathers of the city, Micipsa my father, as he lay 14
dying, charged me to remember that I was no more than
your steward, and you the true sovereigns of Numidia.
And he bade me do all that in me lay to serve the
Roman people and to deem you my kith and kin. For
then, he said, I should have your friendship as my
treasure-house and bulwark of defence. While I was 2
yet pondering his commands, Jugurtha, than whom there
breathes no fouler villain, spurning your sovereignty,
drove me, grandson of Masinissa and Rome's hereditary
friend, an exile from my kingdom. And since these 3
calamities were written in the book of fate, would that
my own services, not those of my forefathers, gave me
claim to your succour; would that the Roman people
owed me services of which I had no need or, if need
were mine, that I might avail me of the debt. But 4
seeing that uprightness alone cannot save me and that
it lay not with me whether Jugurtha should be good or
bad, I fly to you for refuge, to be (alas!) a burden
rather than a profit. Other kings have been granted 5
your friendship after you had conquered them in war,
or sought your alliance when their fortunes trembled in
the balance. But my house became the friends of Rome
during the war with Carthage when Rome, however
true, had little power to aid. Those friends were my 6
forefathers; let not Masinissa's grandson seek your help
in vain! Had I no claim on you save the misfortunes 7
of one who, but late a king in all the pride of ancestry
and warlike might, now helpless and disfigured with his
woe, seeks others' help, still it would be worthy Rome's
greatness to beat back aggression and to forbid any man
to increase his dominion by crime. But the kingdom 8
from which I have been cast forth was that which Rome
gave my forefathers, and from which my father and
grandsire fighting at your side drove Syphax and the
Carthaginians. It is your gifts of which I am robbed,
it is you that are mocked in the wrong done to me.
Alas! my father, has all your kindness come to this, 9
that he whom you made your children's peer and the
partner of their royalty, should himself be the destroyer

of your race? Shall our house never find rest? Must
10 bloodshed, battle, and exile ever be its lot? While
Carthage still stood in all her power, we could not
complain of the cruelties which we endured; the enemy
was at our flank, you, our friends, were far away, all our
hope was in the sword. When the cursed race were
driven from Africa, we walked in the paths of peace with
joy, having no enemies save only such as you might bid
11 us have. And, lo! now of a sudden Jugurtha, in all
the reckless insolence of crime, slew my brother, his own
kinsman, as the firstfruits of his dark designs. Next,
when he could not ensnare me by guile, while I never
dreamed that war or violence could assail me within the
bounds of your empire, he cast me forth from my country
and my hopes, a helpless wretch, anywhere safer than
12 in my own dominions. I had always deemed that my
father spoke the truth when he declared that such as
zealously honoured your friendship must shoulder many
a burden, but in return were of all men most secure.
13 My house has ever, so far as in it lay, aided you in all
your wars. It is for you then to ensure us the fruition
14 of security and peace. Our father left two sons, my
brother and myself; to us he added a third, Jugurtha,
and trusted that gratitude would keep him our friend.
One of these two sons has been slain, the other has
15 scarce escaped the same guilty hands. What shall I do?
Where find a refuge? All those of my blood that
might have saved me have perished. My father died,
an old man, in his bed. My brother, who of all men
least deserved it, fell by a kinsman's crime; and the rest
of my kindred and my friends have been destroyed by
one calamity or another. Those whom Jugurtha took,
for the most part he crucified or cast to the wild beasts.
The few that survive drag out a life that is worse than
death in the darkness of their dungeons, with sorrow
16 and lamentation. If all that I have lost, or that has
turned from a blessing to a curse, were mine, as of old,
I should still entreat your aid in the hour of sudden
calamity, seeing that the lords of so mighty an empire
17 must needs uphold justice and chastise iniquity. But
now I am an exile from home and country, forsaken and
despoiled of my royalty. Whither shall I betake me

and to whom make my supplication? To the tribes and chiefs of Africa? Nay, they all hate our house for its friendship with you. Wherever I turn, I shall find memorials of the countless triumphs won by my forefathers over their enemies, but no pity among any that have ever been your foes. And lastly, fathers, 18 Masinissa taught us all to honour none save the Roman people and to have them only for allies, since your friendship would be our sure defence and, if your star set, we too must go down into darkness. Virtue and the 19 blessing of heaven have made you great. All things befriend you and are obedient to your will. Therefore the more easily may you redress the wrongs of your allies. One thing only I fear, lest some of you be led 20 astray through friendship for Jugurtha. They know not how little his friendship is worth. These men, I am told, are striving with all their power and cunning to hinder you from giving your sentence in Jugurtha's absence, while his cause is yet unknown, and to that end they say that my tale is all a lie and my exile but counterfeit, since there was naught to drive me from my throne. Oh that I might see him, whose unnatural 21 wickedness has brought me to this pass, playing the same counterfeit! Oh that you or the immortal gods would at last have some regard for the fortunes of mankind! May he that now glories emboldened in his sins, be haunted by all manner of calamity, paying bitter retribution for his foul ingratitude to our father, for the murder of my brother and for the sorrows he has brought on me! Happy, not wretched, dearest of 22 brothers, do I account your lot, though you were slain untimely by a traitor's hand! For it was not a 23 kingdom that death took from you, but flight, exile, poverty, and all the woes that now are mine. But I, unhappy, cast from my father's throne into the depths of misery, show forth an example of the fickleness of mortal fortunes. What shall I do? Seek to avenge your wrongs, when I myself lack succour? Or to save my kingdom, when my royalty hangs on the will of others? Oh for a speedy death, if that could end my 24 sorrows with honour, not brand me with just scorn as a coward who, outworn by grief, bowed beneath the out-

rage of his enemies. But now to live is hateful and
 25 death dishonour. Fathers, by your own selves, by your
 children and those that bore you, by the majesty of the
 Roman people, I entreat you, help me in my need,
 redress my wrongs and suffer not your domain of
 Numidia to fall in ruin under the crimes of blood that
 now afflict my house !'

*- Jugurtha's ambassadors reply that Hiempsal was put to death
 by his subjects for his cruelty and that Adherbal is the aggressor.
 The senate allot West Numidia to Jugurtha, East to
 Adherbal.*

15 Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Iugurthae
 largitione magis quam causa freti paucis respondent.
 Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum,
 Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superat-
 us sit, queri quod iniuriam facere nequivisset:
 Iugurtham ab senatu petere ne se alium putarent ac
 Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta
 2 sua ponerent. deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. se-
 natus statim consulitur. fautores legatorum, praeterea
 senatus magna pars gratia depravata, Adherbalis dicta
 contemnere, Iugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus:
 gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere
 3 et flagitio sua quasi pro gloria nitebantur. at contra
 pauci, quibus bonum et aequum divitiis carius erat,
 subveniendum Adherbali et Hiempsalis mortem severe
 4 vindicandam censebant, sed ex omnibus maxime
 Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis impiger factiosus avidus
 potentiae honoris divitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide
 5 occultans. is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam
 impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta
 licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubi-
 16 dine continuit. vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quae
 2 vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. decretum fit uti
 decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter
 Iugurtham et Adherbalem dividerent. cuius legationis

princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis acerrime victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. eum Iugurtha tametsi Romae in inimicis 3 habuerat, tamen adcuratissime recepit, dando et pollicendo multa perfecit uti famae, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferet. reliquos legatos 4 eadem via adgressus plerosque capit, paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit. in divisione quae pars Numidiae 5 Mauretanium attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Iugurthae traditur, illam alteram specie quam usu potior, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

17-19. *There follows a rambling and highly legendary digression on the geography and inhabitants of Africa. After a brief preface he proceeds :*

The sea along its coasts is stormy and harbourless. 17 5 The land is fertile in crops and provides excellent pasture, but produces few trees owing to lack of rain 6 and streams. Its inhabitants are a healthy race, swift of foot and enduring of toil. Most die of old age, except such as fall in war or are killed by wild beasts ; for death from disease is very rare, while dangerous animals abound.

Sallust then turns to the inhabitants, basing his account on the writings of Hiempsal II, a later king of Numidia. The original inhabitants were the Gaetulians and Libyans, wild and lawless savages, without fixed habitations. On the death of Hercules in Spain his army broke up, and contingents of Persians, Medes, and Armenians crossed into Africa. The Persians in course of time intermarried with the Gaetulians and came to be known as Nomads or Numidians. The Medes and Armenians joined forces with the Libyans and formed the Moorish nation, the name Moor being a corruption of Mede. Later, Phoenician immigrations took place, and thus Carthage, Hippo, Hadrumetum, Leptis, and other cities came into existence. Numidia extends westward as far as the river

Mulucha and the Gaetulians to the south for the most part own her sway. West of the Mulucha lies Mauretania which at this time was governed by Bocchus 'who knew nothing of Rome save the name, while we for our part had no previous acquaintance with him either in peace or war'.

Jugurtha encouraged by the senate's award attacks Adherbal, who takes refuge in Cirta and sends envoys to Rome. The senate send out three commissioners to restore peace.

- 20 Postquam diviso regno legati Africa decessere et Iugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt, certum esse ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paulo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis
 2 animum intendit. ipse acer bellicosus, at is quem petebat quietus imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus
 3 iniuriae, metuens magis quam metuendus. igitur ex improviso finis eius cum magna manu invadit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia praeda capit, aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu adcedit,
 4 deinde cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convortit, existumans Adherbalem dolore permotum iniurias suas
 5 manu vindicaturum eamque rem belli causam fore. at ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Iugurtham de iniuriis questum misit. qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta rettulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit quam bellum sumere, quia temptatum antea
 6 secus cesserat. neque eo magis cupido Iugurthae minuebatur, quippe qui totum eius regnum animo iam
 7 invaserat. itaque non uti antea cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato bellum gerere coepit et
 8 aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere. ceterum qua pergebat urbis agros vastare, praedas agere, suis animum
 21 hostibus terrorem augere. Adherbal ubi intellegit eo

processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat et Iugurthae obvius procedit. interim haud longe a mari prope 2 Cirtam oppidum utriusque exercitus consedit et quia diei extremum erat, proelium non inceptum. sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine milites Iugurthini signo dato castra hostium invadunt, semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentis fugant funduntque. Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit et, ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentis moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. igitur 3 Iugurtha oppidum circumscedit, vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgreditur, maxime festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante proelium factum ab Adherbale Romam missos audiverat.

Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres 4 adulescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuntient velle et censere eos ab armis discedere, de controversiis suis iure potius quam bello disceptare: ita seque illisque dignum esse.

Adherbal besieged in Cirta.

The envoys made all haste to reach Africa, for the 22 news of the battle and of the siege of Cirta had reached Rome as they were setting out, though rumour told less than the truth. Jugurtha after hearing what they had 2 to say, replied that he held nothing greater or more dear than the authority of the senate. 'I have endeavoured,' he went on, 'all my life to win the approval of the best among men. It was by worth, not wickedness, that I pleased the great Publius Scipio, and it was for the same cause and not by reason of childlessness that Micipsa adopted me as his son. But 3 as I prospered, I became more impatient against those

- that did me wrong. Adherbal plotted against my life, and when I discovered it, I did what I could to bring his crime to naught. The Roman people will be both unjust and unwise, if they refuse me my natural rights.' He made an end by saying that he would shortly send ambassadors to Rome to treat concerning all matters in dispute. Both parties then went their way. The Roman envoys were unable to have speech with
- 23 Adherbal. So soon as he thought them to have left Africa, Jugurtha, being unable to storm Cirta owing to the strength of its position, surrounded the walls with a rampart and ditch, built towers in which he set guards, and further ceased not night or day from attempts upon the city either by force or guile, now seeking to bribe and now to terrify the besieged into surrender, while he kindled his own men to valour by his exhortations and spared no pains in preparing the way to victory.
- 24 When Adherbal saw that his fortunes were on the verge of ruin, that he had a relentless enemy, no hope of succour from without, and no supplies such as might enable him to prolong the war, he chose out two of the boldest of those who had fled with him to Cirta. By promises and entreaties he persuaded them to steal through the enemy's lines by night to the nearest point on the sea-coast, and thence to make their way to Rome.
- 24 The Numidians performed his commands in a few days. Adherbal's letter was read out in the senate. Its purport was as follows :

Adherbal's letter. Fresh commissioners are sent to Jugurtha, but to no purpose. They return to Rome, Cirta falls and Adherbal and all his men are massacred.

- 2 'Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, patres conscripti, sed vis Iugurthae subigit, quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, ut neque vos neque deos
- 3 immortalis in animo habeat, sanguinem meum quam omnia malit. itaque quintum iam mensem socius et amicus populi Romani armis obsessus teneor, neque mihi Micipsae patris mei beneficia neque vostra decreta auxiliantur ; ferro an fame acrius urgear incertus sum.

plura de Iugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea. 4
 etiam antea expertus sum parum fidei miseris esse.
 nisi tamen intellego illum supra quam ego sum petere 5
 neque simul amicitiam vestram et regnum meum
 sperare. utrum gravius existimet, nemini occultum
 est. nam initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem meum, 6
 deinde patrio regno me expulit. quae sane fuerint
 nostrae iniuriae, nihil ad vos. verum nunc vestrum 7
 regnum armis tenet, me, quem vos imperatorem
 Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet: legatorum verba
 quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. quid est 8
 reliquum nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? nam ego 9
 quidem vellem et haec quae scribo et illa quae antea in
 senatu questus sum vana forent potius quam miseria
 mea fidem verbis faceret. sed quoniam eo natus sum, 10
 ut Iugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non iam mortem
 neque aerumnas, tantum modo inimici imperium et
 cruciatus corporis deprecor. regno Numidiae, quod
 vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite: me manibus impiis
 eripite, per maiestatem imperi, per amicitiae fidem, si
 ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissae.'

His litteris recitatis fuere, qui exercitum in Africam 25
 mittendum censerent et quam primum Adherbali sub-
 veniendum, de Iugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quo-
 niam legatis non paruisset. sed ab eisdem illis regis 2
 fautoribus summa ope enisum est ne tale decretum
 fieret. ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, 3
 privata gratia devictum. legantur tamen in Africam 4
 maiores natu nobiles, amplis honoribus usi; in quis fuit
 M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis et
 tum senatus princeps. ei, quod res in invidia erat, 5
 simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere.
 dein brevi Uticam adpulsi litteras ad Iugurtham mittunt,
 quam ocissime ad provinciam adcedat seque ad eum ab
 senatu missos. ille ubi accepit homines claros, quorum 6

auctoritatem Romae pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse, primo conmotus metu atque lubidine
 7 divorsus agitabatur. timebat iram senatus, ni paruisset legatis: porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum
 8 scelus rapiabatur. vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum
 9 consilium. igitur exercitu circumdato summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxume sperans, diducta manu hostium aut vi aut dolis sese casum victoriae inventurum.
 10 quod ubi secus procedit neque quod intenderat efficere potest, ut prius quam legatos conveniret Adherbalis potiretur, ne amplius morando Scaurum quem plurimum metuebat incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in pro-
 11 vinciam venit. ac tametsi senati verbis graves minae nuntiabantur, quod ab oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumpta legati frustra discessere.
 26 ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute moenia defensabantur, confisi deditioe facta propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent uti seque et oppidum Iugurthae tradat, tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur, de ceteris senatui
 2 curae fore. at ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Iugurthae rebatur, tamen quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogundi potestas erat, ita uti censuerant Italici
 3 deditioem facit. Iugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat, deinde omnis puberes Numidas atque negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatus obvius fuerat, interficit.

Rome decides for war.

27 When the news reached Rome, the senate met to consider it, whilst those that were in Jugurtha's hire strove to diminish the horror to which the crime had given rise, by intervening in the debate on their employer's behalf and using influence or intimidation to
 2 put off any final decision. And had not Gaius Memmius, tribune elect and a man of vigorous character and liberal sentiments, declared to the Roman people that a few

schemers were seeking to get Jugurtha's crime condoned, without doubt the continued adjournment of the senate would have ended in the disappearance of Jugurtha's unpopularity. Such was the power of his influence and his gold. But the senate conscious of its guilt feared the people. And so, as commanded by the Sempronian law, Numidia and Italy were allotted to the incoming consuls, Publius Scipio Nasica and Lucius Calpurnius Bestia, Italy falling to the former and Numidia to the latter. An army was levied for service in Africa and the requisite money and supplies were voted.

• Bestia the consul is bribed to an ignominious peace.

But Jugurtha on receiving the news, which was not what he expected, since he had a fixed belief that there was naught that money could not buy at Rome, sent his son with two of his closest friends as ambassadors to the senate, charging them like those whom he had sent after the death of Hiempsal, to be lavish with their bribes. When they were nearing Rome, the senate was asked by Lucius Bestia whether they desired that Jugurtha's envoys should be admitted within the walls. The senate resolved that, unless they had come to announce the surrender of Jugurtha and his kingdom, they should leave Italy within ten days. The consul had the senate's command conveyed to the Numidians, who returned home having accomplished nothing. Meanwhile Bestia, whose army now was ready, appointed a number of turbulent nobles as his lieutenants, hoping that their authority would serve to shield his own offences. Among these was Scaurus of whose nature and character I have already spoken. The consul had many good qualities both of mind and body, but all these were impaired by his avarice. He was patient of toil, prudent and of quick understanding, a capable commander, unshaken in the face of danger. The legions were conveyed through Italy to Rhegium and Sicily, and thence to Africa. After collecting the necessary supplies, Bestia began by boldly invading Numidia and storming several cities. But when Jugurtha began to approach him with bribes and also to

make clear to him the difficulty of the war he had undertaken, he fell an easy prey to his besetting sin of avarice. Scaurus was admitted as the accomplice and executor of all his designs; for though at first he had denounced Jugurtha for having bribed sundry of his own party, the magnitude of the bribes now offered beguiled him from the path of honour. Jugurtha's first offers were directed only toward a postponement of hostilities, in the hope that in the interval money or influence might effect something at Rome. But when he learned that Scaurus was now a partner in the business, he formed high hopes of securing peace and resolved to treat with them in person on all matters. In the meantime the quaestor Sextius was sent by the consul to Vaga, one of Jugurtha's towns, as a guarantee of good faith. The pretext for this was the receipt of corn which the consul had ordered his lieutenants to secure, since the armistice was protracted by the delay in Jugurtha's surrender. The king then, as he had resolved, came to the Roman camp and after making a brief speech in the presence of the council on the hatred which his deeds had awakened and his desire to surrender conducted the rest of the business in secret with Bestia and Scaurus. On the next day his surrender was accepted on the decision of the council, who were asked to vote Yes or No on the question as a whole without reference to the conditions in detail. In accordance with the demand which had been made in the presence of the council, Jugurtha delivered to the quaestor thirty elephants, a number of cattle and horses, and a small quantity of silver. The consul then returned to Rome to hold the elections, while the Numidians and our army abstained in the meantime from hostile operations.

Indignation at Rome.

30 So soon as these events and the manner of their accomplishment came to be rumoured in Italy, the consul's action was debated in every place where men were gathered together. The common folk were indignant, the senate most uneasy. They could not make up their minds whether to give their approval to so

grave a crime or to annul the treaty made by the consul, while the influence of Scaurus, who was reported to have been Bestia's accomplice and agent in these transactions was the most serious obstacle to the only honourable course that lay before them. But Gaius Memmius, of whose freedom of spirit and hatred of the nobles I have already spoken, while the senate still hesitated and delayed, exhorted the people to punish the offenders, warned them not to forsake the cause of liberty and the common weal, and pointed to the insolence and cruelty that had marked so much that the nobles had done. In a word, he left no stone unturned that he might kindle the people to action. Now, since at this time the eloquence of Memmius was renowned for its power, it will, I think, be worth while to give at length one of his many speeches, to wit, that which he delivered in a public assembly after the return of Bestia :

'Indignation forces me to speak. The pride and corruption of the nobles are intolerable, and now they have betrayed you in the field. Punish the guilty or you are lost.'

'Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium rei publicae omnia superet, opes factionis, vostra patientia, ius nullum, ac maxime quod innocentiae plus periculi quam honoris est. nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis quindecim quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum, quam foede quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores, ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem obnoxiiis inimicis exsurgitis atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus decet terrori esse. sed quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit. certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar, verum id frustra an ob rem faciam, in vostra manu situm est, Quirites. neque ego vos hortor, quod saepe maiores vestri fecere, uti contra iniurias armati eatis: nihil vi, nihil secessionem opus est. necesse est suomet ipsi more praecipites eant. occiso Ti. Graccho, 7

quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam
 quaestiones habitae sunt. post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvi
 caedem item vestri ordinis multi mortales in carcere
 8 necati sunt. utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido
 eorum finem fecit. sed sane fuerit regni paratio plebi
 sua restituere. quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci
 9 nequitur, iure factum sit. superioribus annis taciti in-
 dignabamini aerarium expilari, reges et populos liberos
 paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere, penes eosdem et sum-
 mam gloriam et maximas divitias esse. tamen haec
 talia facinora impune suscepisse parum habuere itaque
 postremo leges, maiestas vestra, divina et humana omnia
 10 hostibus tradita sunt. neque eos, qui ea fecere, pudet
 aut paenitet, sed incedunt per ora vestra magnifici,
 sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos osten-
 tantes, proinde quasi ea honori non praedae habeant.
 11 servi aere parati iniusta imperia dominorum non
 perferunt. vos, Quirites, in imperio nati, aequo animo
 12 servitutem toleratis? at qui sunt ei, qui rem publicam
 occupavere? homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus,
 immani avaritia, nocentissimi et eidem superbissimi,
 quibus fides decus pietas, postremo honesta atque in-
 13 honesta omnia quaestui sunt. pars eorum occidisse tri-
 bunos plebis, alii quaestiones iniustas, plerique caedem
 14 in vos fecisse pro munimento habent. ita quam quisque
 pessume fecit, tam maxime tutus est. metum ab scelere
 suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere, quos omnis eadem
 cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coegit.
 15 sed haec inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est.
 16 quodsi tam vos libertatis curam haberetis quam illi ad
 dominationem accensi sunt, profecto neque res publica,
 sicuti nunc, vastaretur et beneficia vestra penes optimos
 17 non audacissimos forent. maiores vestri parandi iuris
 et maiestatis constituendae gratia bis per secessionem
 armati Aventinum occupavere. vos pro libertate, quam

ab illis accepistis, nonne summa ope nitentini? atque eo vehementius, quo maius dedecus est parta amittere quam omnino non paravisse. dicit aliquis "quid igitur 18 censes? vindicandum in eos qui hosti prodidere rem publicam." non manu neque vi, quod magis vos fecisse quam illis accidisse indignum est, verum quaestionibus et indicio ipsius Iugurthae. qui si dediticius est, pro- 19fecto iussis vestris oboediens erit, sin ea contemnit, scilicet existumabitis, qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Iugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumae divitiae, ad rem publicam damna 20 atque dedecora pervenerint. nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet et illa quam haec tempora magis placent, cum regna, provinciae, leges, iura, iudicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant, vos autem, hoc est populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium satis habebatis animam retinere: nam servitatem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat? atque ego, tametsi viro flagitiosissimum existumo im- 21pune iniuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, ni misericordia in perniciem casura esset. nam 22 et illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est inpune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciendi licentia eripitur, et vobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intelletis aut serviundum esse aut per manus libertatem retinendam. nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est? do- 23minari illi volunt, vos liberi esse, facere illi iniurias, vos prohibere, postremo sociis nostris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. potestne in tam divorsis menti- 24bus pax aut amicitia esse? qua re moneo hortorque vos 25 ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. non peculatus aerari factus est neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae, quae quamquam gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine iam

pro nihilo habentur. hosti acerrumo prodita senatus auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum est : domi militiaeque res publica venalis fuit. quae nisi quaesita erunt, nisi vindicatum in noxios, quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, oboedientes vivamus ? nam impune quae lubet facere, id est regem esse. neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor ut malitis civis vestros perperam quam recte fecisse, sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eatis. ad hoc in re publica multo praestat benefici quam malifici immemorem esse. bonus tantum modo segnior fit, ubi negligas, at malus improbior. ad hoc si iniuriae non sint, haud saepe auxili egeas.'

Jugurtha comes to Rome.

By these and other like speeches Memmius persuaded the people to send Lucius Cassius, then praetor, to Jugurtha with orders to bring him back under a safe-conduct, in order that the evidence of the king himself might enable them to lay bare the guilt of Scaurus and the others who were accused of taking bribes. While these events were taking place in Rome, the officers whom Bestia had left in command of the army followed their general's example and committed a number of scandalous crimes. Some were bribed to restore the elephants to Jugurtha, others sold Numidian deserters, others pillaged the natives who had made their submission. Such was the force of avarice which had swept upon them like a contagion. Meanwhile Memmius' proposal had, to the dismay of the nobles, been carried, and Cassius proceeded to Jugurtha and, since the consciousness of his guilt made him timid and diffident of the future, persuaded him that, as he had already capitulated, it would be better to throw himself on the mercy of the Roman people rather than brave their anger. Cassius further pledged his own personal honour that he should suffer no harm, a pledge which, such was the reputation of Cassius, Jugurtha regarded as of no less value than the safe-conduct given by the state. Consequently he laid aside the emblems of his royalty, and putting on mean attire, such as became a

suppliant, accompanied Cassius to Rome. His natural ² courage found further support from those by whose influence or crime he had accomplished all that we have narrated above, while by a heavy bribe he engaged Gaius Baebius, tribune of the plebs, to defend him without scruple against all the perils that justice or enmity might threaten. But Gaius Memmius called an assembly ³ of the people, and, although the common folk were hostile to the king, some demanding that he should be cast into prison, others that he should be put to death as the enemy of Rome, if he refused to divulge the names of his accomplices, succeeded in mollifying their fury and persuading them to place the claims of public honour above those of natural resentment. Finally, proclaiming that the public pledge should never be broken if he could prevent it, he secured silence and, ⁴ leading Jugurtha forward, set forth all his evil deeds both at Rome and in Numidia, together with the crimes which he had committed against his father and his brothers. 'I am aware,' he said, 'that the Roman people know by whose help he did all these things, but they would be glad to hear the truth more fully from the criminal himself. If he will tell the truth, he may have great hopes of the good faith and clemency of the Roman people. If he is silent, he will not save his accomplices, but will bring himself and his hopes to ruin.' When Memmius had made an end, Jugurtha ³⁴ was bidden to reply, but Gaius Baebius, who had been bribed, as we have just related, bade the king keep silence, and though the crowd were roused to fury by his action and sought to terrify him by threatening cries and scowling looks, by attempts to rush the platform, and every method known to an angry mob, his shameless conduct won the day. And so the people left the ² assembly, feeling that they had been mocked and deluded, while the spirits of Jugurtha and Bestia and others implicated in the inquiry rose correspondingly high.

The murder of Massiva.

There was at this time at Rome a Numidian named ³⁵ Massiva, son of Gulussa and grandson of Masinissa.

He had supported Adherbal against Jugurtha, and after the fall of Cirta and the murder of Adherbal had taken
2 refuge in Italy. This man was persuaded by Spurius Albinus, who with Quintus Minucius was now consul, to demand the kingdom of Numidia for himself, since he was of Masinissa's blood and Jugurtha was hated and feared for the crimes which he had committed.
3 The consul was eager for a campaign and preferred vigorous action to stagnation and decay. Africa had been allotted to him and Macedonia to Minucius.
4 When Massiva began to urge his claims, Jugurtha, thinking that the protection afforded by his friends was scarce sufficient, since some were hampered by the consciousness of their guilt and others by fear of losing their reputation, ordered Bomilcar, the most devoted of his followers, to hire assassins to make away with Massiva as secretly as possible or, failing that, as best
5 they could. Bomilcar carried out his orders with promptitude and had Massiva's movements, haunts, and hours watched by spies: this done, he set an ambush for
6 him. One of the assassins attacked Massiva somewhat incautiously and, though he succeeded in killing him, was captured himself. Under pressure from many quarters, above all from the consul Albinus, he turned
7 informer. Bomilcar, although in the retinue of a prince who had come to Rome under a safe-conduct, was put upon his trial, a step which was justified by the claims
8 of equity rather than by international law. Jugurtha, however, although his complicity in the crime was obvious, did not cease striving to conceal the truth, until he perceived that the abhorrence created by the crime was too great for his influence or money to overcome.
9 And so, although at the first hearing of the case he had given fifty of his friends as sureties, he considered the interests of his throne rather than those of his sureties, and sent Bomilcar secretly away to Numidia. For he feared that if Bomilcar had been put to death, the remainder of his fellow-countrymen would be frightened from their allegiance. He himself followed a few days later, the senate having ordered him to leave Italy.
10 The story runs that on his departure he kept looking back at Rome with never a word. At last he broke

silence and said, 'A city for sale and ripe for ruin, if once she can find a purchaser!'

Albinus in Africa.

Meanwhile, since the war had broken out anew, 36 Albinus bestirred himself to convey the necessary funds and supplies to Africa. He himself set forth without delay, desiring to bring the war to an end by force or by negotiating Jugurtha's capitulation, or indeed to secure peace by any means before the elections, which were now not far off. Jugurtha on the other hand employed 2 one pretext after another to prolong the negotiations. Now he promised surrender and now pretended to be afraid: now yielded to insistence and, a moment later, took up an aggressive attitude to encourage his own followers. Thus he succeeded in baffling the consul by refusing to make peace or war. There were some who 3 thought that Albinus was not ignorant of the king's designs. For in view of the haste which had been displayed at first, they were convinced that the ease with which the subsequent delays had been effected could be explained only as the result of deliberate policy. But 4 as time slipped away and the elections drew near, Albinus departed for Rome, leaving his brother Aulus in command as pro-praetor.

Aulus attacks in Albinus' absence.

At this moment Rome was in a state of turmoil owing 37 to the unconstitutional conduct of the tribunes, two of whom, Publius Lucullus and Lucius Annius, were 2 attempting, despite the opposition of their colleagues, to remain in office for another year. This dispute was 3 preventing the elections from taking place, and the delay emboldened Aulus, who had been left in command, to hope that he might either bring the war to a successful conclusion or extort money from the king by the terror which our army inspired. In January therefore he called out his troops from winter quarters and proceeded by forced marches in the most inclement weather to 4 Suthul, where the king's treasure was stored. The weather and the natural strength of the place made attack and blockade equally impossible, since the winter

rains had swamped the muddy plain surrounding the precipitous hill on which the fortress stood. But either as a feint to frighten the king, or blinded by his desire to seize the town and its treasure, Aulus brought up penthouses, threw up a mound and urged on all other operations such as might serve his purpose.

Jugurtha lures Aulus from Suthul by holding out hopes of peace, then, attacking by night, forces him to a disgraceful surrender. The Romans evacuate Numidia.

38 at Iugurtha cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati
 subdole eius augere amentiam, missitare supplicantis
 legatos, ipse quasi vitabundus per saltuosa loca et
 2 tramites exercitum ductare. denique Aulum spe pac-
 tionis perpulit, uti relicto Suthule in abditas regiones
 sese veluti cedentem insequeretur: ita delicta occultiora
 3 fuere. interea per homines callidos diu noctuque
 exercitum temptabat, centuriones ducesque turmarum
 partim uti transfugerent corrumpere, alii signo dato
 4 locum uti desererent. quae postquam ex sententia
 instruit, intempesta nocte de improvise multitudine
 5 Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. milites Romani
 percussi tumultu insolito arma capere alii, alii se abdere,
 pars territos confirmare, trepidare omnibus locis. vis
 magna hostium, caelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum,
 periculum anceps; postremo, fugere an manere tutius
 6 foret in incerto erat. sed ex eo numero, quos paulo
 ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum cum
 duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis militibus
 transiere ad regem, et centurio primi pili tertiae legionis
 per munitionem, quam uti defenderet acceperat, locum
 hostibus introeundi dedit eaque Numidae cuncti irrupere.
 7 nostri foeda fuga, plerique abiectis armis, proximum
 8 collem occupaverunt. nox atque praeda castrorum hostis,
 9 quominus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. deinde
 Iugurtha postero die cum Aulo in conloquio verba facit.

tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame et ferro clausum teneret, tamen se memorem humanarum rerum, si secum foedus faceret, incolumis omnis sub iugum missurum ; praeterea uti diebus decem Numidia decederet. quae 10 quamquam gravia et flagiti plena erant, tamen quia mortis metu mutabantur, sicuti regi lubuerat pax convenit.

Consternation at Rome. Albinus returns, only to find the discipline of the army so bad as to render operations impossible.

Sed ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, metus atque 39 maeror civitatem invasere. pars dolere pro gloria imperi, pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati, Aulo omnes infesti ac maxime qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat. ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris 2 invidiam ac deinde periculum timens senatum de foedere consulebat et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere, ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia accersere, denique omnibus modis festinare. senatus ita uti par 3 fuerat decernit suo atque populi iniussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri. consul impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne quas 4 paraverat copias secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur: nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus in provincia hiemabat. postquam eo venit, quamquam persequi Iugurtham et 5 mederi fraternae invidiae animo ardebat, cognitis militibus, quos praeter fugam soluto imperio licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agitandum.

The Mamilian Law.

Meanwhile at Rome Gaius Mamilius Limetanus, 40 tribune of the plebs, brought a bill before the people providing for an inquiry into the conduct of those whose

advice had caused Jugurtha to neglect the decrees of the senate, and who had received money whilst holding commands or engaged on embassies, had delivered up elephants or deserters or had made agreements with the enemy concerning peace or war. This bill was disliked by some because they were conscious of their own guilt, by others because they feared the dangers that might spring from party hatred ; and so, since open resistance would be tantamount to an admission that they approved of such malpractices, they prepared to oppose it secretly by means of their friends and above all by persons drawn from the Latins and the Italian allies. The common people on the other hand showed incredible enthusiasm for the bill, though in the prevailing violence of party feeling they were moved more by hatred of the nobles against whom it was directed than by any real care for the common weal. The persons thus threatened were filled with terror, all save Scaurus, who availed himself of the general excitement to secure his own appointment as one of the three commissioners of inquiry established by the Mamilian Law. The inquiry itself was conducted with harshness and violence, as rumour and the caprice of the common people chanced to sway it. For success had bred insolence in them as it had previously done in the nobility.

Digression on the causes of party strife at Rome.

All this party strife together with the general demoralization of society was but of recent birth at Rome, being the fruit of ease and the abundance of all those things which men most prize. For before the destruction of Carthage the senate and the people of Rome guided the state between them in peace and moderation. Citizens vied not among themselves for glory and power, but fear of the enemy kept Rome to the practice of the virtues. But once their minds were relieved of that dread, wantonness and pride, the children of good fortune, found entry. And so, that ease for which they had longed in times of adversity, once obtained, proved a yet more cruel and bitter curse than any they had experienced. For the nobles used their high rank and the common folk their liberty as a means to the gratifica-

tion of their desires, and each man appropriated or laid violent hands on whatever took his fancy. So society was divided into two parties, and the body of the state in which they had been united was rent asunder. The 6 nobles however had the advantage in party strife, while the power of the people was of less effect, being distributed and dissolved among so many. The will of a few 7 determined both military and domestic policy: the treasury, provinces, and magistracies, the glories and triumphs of war were all in these men's hands, while the people suffered the hardships of poverty and military service. The spoils of battle were seized by the generals 8 and a chosen few; meanwhile the parents and babes of the soldiers were driven from their homes by their powerful neighbours. And along with power came 9 avarice without check or bound, polluting and devastating all, respecting and revering nothing, until at last it wrought its own downfall. For so soon as men were 10 found among the nobles to prefer true glory to unjust power, society began to be upheaved and civil discord sprang to birth. For when Tiberius and Gaius 42 Gracchus, whose forefathers had extended the bounds of our empire in the Punic and other wars, began to free the common folk from their chains and to lay bare the crimes of the few, the guilty and panic-stricken nobles sought to counter the eloquence of the Gracchi by appealing now to the Latins and the allies, now to the Roman knights, whom the hope of sharing in the spoils of government had alienated from the people. First they slew Tiberius while still tribune, and a few years later, Gaius, then commissioner for the founding of new colonies, together with Marcus Fulvius, fell a victim to their violence and paid a like penalty for attempting like reforms. The Gracchi, it is true, in their passion for 3 victory went too far. But virtue had rather perish in 3 defeat than vanquish injustice by evil means. The 4 nobles used this victory to the height of their caprice and swept many from their path by exile or by death, so that such fresh power as they gained was darkened always by the fear of vengeance. Many a great state has been ruined by such struggles, wherein men count no victory too costly and long for a bitter vengeance on

5 the vanquished. But were I to discourse concerning our party struggles and the corruption of our life at the length so great a theme demands, time would fail me before ever I had come to the end of the story. Wherefore let me return to the history of the war.

Metellus prepares a fresh campaign.

43 After the treaty made by Aulus and the disgraceful flight of our army, the consuls Quintus Metellus and Marcus Silanus divided their spheres of action in accordance with the resolution of the senate. Numidia was allotted to Metellus, a man of great energy, who despite his opposition to the popular party enjoyed a
2 fair and untarnished reputation. As soon as he entered on the chief magistracy, he gave his whole attention to
3 the war. Distrusting the old army, he levied fresh troops, collected arms, weapons, horses, and all such stores and equipment as might be of service in the
4 vicissitudes of an exacting campaign. The senate employed the whole weight of its authority to further his designs; allies, Latins, and kings sent contingents unasked, and the whole community showed high
5 enthusiasm. And so, having prepared and disposed all things as he desired, he set forth for Numidia amid the high hopes of his fellow-citizens. For over and above his other good qualities, he had shown himself proof against the lure of riches, while it was in the main due to the avarice of our magistrates that our power in Numidia had met with such disaster and the resources of the enemy correspondingly increased.

On arrival in Africa, Marius finds the army in a scandalous state of indiscipline and takes vigorous measures to remedy the evil.

44 Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur a Sp. Albino proconsule iners imbellis, neque periculi neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator ex sociis et ipse praec̄a hostium, sine imperio et
2 modestia habitus. ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis quam ex copia militum auxili

aut spei bonae adcedebat. statuit tamen Metellus, ³
 quamquam et aestivorum tempus comitiorum mora
 imminuerat et exspectatione eventus civium animos in-
 tentos putabat, non prius bellum attingere quam
 maiorum disciplina milites laborare coegisset. nam ⁴
 Albinus Auli fratris exercitusque clade percussus,
 postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum
 temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites
 stativis castris habebat, nisi cum odos aut pabuli egestas
 locum mutare subegerat. sed neque muniebantur neque ⁵
 more militari vigiliae deducebantur. uti cuique lubebat,
 ab signis aberat. lixae permixti cum militibus diu
 noctuque vagabantur et palantes agros vastare, villas
 expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes
 agere eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advecticio
 et aliis talibus, praeterea frumentum publice datum
 vendere, panem in dies mercari: postremo quaecumque ⁴⁵
 dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaequae probra in illo
 exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius. sed in ea
 difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus hostili-
 bus magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior:
 tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque
 moderatum. namque edicto primum adiumenta ²
 ignaviae sustulisse, ne quisquam in castris panem aut
 quem alium coctum cibum venderet, ne lixae exercitum
 sequerentur, ne miles gregarius in castris neve in agmine
 servom aut iumentum haberet; ceteris arte modum
 statuisset. praeterea transvorsis itineribus cotidie castra
 movere, iuxta ac si hostes adessent vallo atque fossa
 munire, vigiliis crebras ponere et eas ipse cum legatis
 circumire, item in agmine in primis modo, modo in
 postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine
 egrederetur, ut cum signis frequentes incederent, miles
 cibum et arma portaret. ita prohibendo a delictis magis ³
 quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.

Metellus' new policy.

46 Meanwhile when Jugurtha learned what Metellus was doing and received information from Rome that he was incorruptible, he began to distrust his own resources and for the first time made a genuine offer of surrender. 2 He sent envoys to implore the consul to spare his life and that of his children, promising that all else 3 should be surrendered to the Roman people. But Metellus had already learned from experience how faithless and fickle and prone to revolution is the 4 Numidian race. Accordingly he approached each of the envoys in private, and as soon as he had sounded them and discovered which were most like to serve his purpose, persuaded them by dint of many promises to deliver Jugurtha up to him, alive if possible, but, failing that, dead. In public however he gave them pleasant 5 speeches for their king. A few days later he himself with an eager army fierce for battle marched into Numidia which showed no signs of war; the hamlets were full of men, the fields of husbandmen and cattle. The royal governors came out from towns and villages to meet him, offering supplies of corn and transport, and 6 ready to do whatever he might command. Metellus however proceeded on his way without relaxing his precautions, as though he were in the presence of the enemy, reconnoitring the country far and wide; for he regarded all these signs of surrender as intended to deceive, and suspected that some snare was being laid 7 for him. Accordingly he himself marched in the van with some light-armed cohorts and a picked force of slingers and archers. Gaius Marius his lieutenant brought up the rear with the regular cavalry. Both flanks were covered by the auxiliary horse under the command of military tribunes and cohort commanders, in order that, with the aid of a few light-armed troops who were attached to them, they might beat off the Numidian 8 cavalry wherever they ventured to attack. For Jugurtha was so cunning and possessed of such skill in war and knowledge of the country, that it was regarded as doubtful whether he was more dangerous in presence 47 or in absence, in peace or war. Not far from Metellus'

line of march was a Numidian town named Vaga, the most important mart in all the kingdom, where numbers of Italians had taken up their residence for the purpose of business. Here the consul established a garrison, partly on account of the importance of the place and partly to see if the enemy would permit it. He further requisitioned corn and other supplies, since he thought that the presence of large numbers of traders would be of great assistance to the army in the matter of supply and would serve to protect the stores already collected. All this while Jugurtha kept sending envoys with yet more urgent entreaties for peace and promises to surrender all he possessed save his own and his children's lives. The consul did as he had done before: after enticing them to betray their master, he sent the envoys home. He neither refused nor promised the peace which the king demanded and waited for the envoys to perform their promises.

Jugurtha determines to attack.

Jugurtha compared the acts of Metellus with his words and perceived that his own wiles were now being employed against him. For the Roman sent messages of peace, but in reality waged ruthless war; the chief city of the realm had been seized, the country reconnoitred, the allegiance of the peasants shaken. He therefore decided to use the weapons of war. After reconnoitring the Roman line of march, he was fired with hopes of victory owing to the favourable nature of the country, collected the largest force of all arms that he could muster, and by using secret paths succeeded in getting in front of the army of Metellus. There was in eastern Numidia a river flowing from the south and named Muthul. Parallel to its course at an average distance of 20,000 paces, ran a wild uncultivated mountain range from about the middle of which there extended for a great distance toward the river a hill, clad with wild olive and myrtle and other trees such as are found in dry and sandy soil. The plain itself was waterless and deserted save in the neighbourhood of the river, where it was well planted and full of flocks and their owners.

Jugurtha posts Bomilcar with a strong force upon this hill and himself takes up a position on the mountain range. As Metellus comes through the mountains, he sees signs of the enemy on his right flank, and halts.

49 igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Iugurtha extenuata suorum acie consedit, elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit eumque edocet quae ageret. ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos
 2 conlocat. dein singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant : cum eis certamen fore quos antea victos sub iugum miserint ; ducem illis non animum mutatum ; quae ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa, locum superiorem, ut prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus aut rudes cum belli melioribus manum
 3 consererent : proinde parati intentique essent signo dato Romanos invadere ; illum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum aut maxumarum aerumnarum
 4 initium fore. ad hoc viritim, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere benefici sui et eum ipsum aliis ostentare, postremo pro cuiusque ingenio pollicendo minitando obtestando alium alio modo excitare : cum interim Metellus,
 5 ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicatur, primo dubius quidnam insolita facies ostenderet—nam inter virgulta equi Numidaeque considerant neque plane occultati humilitate arborum et tamen incerti quidnam esset, cum natura loci tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati—dein brevi cognitis insidiis paulisper agmen constituit.

Metellus re-forms his column to meet the danger and proceeds toward the plain.

6 Then changing his formation, he drew up his

legionaries in triple line of battle on his right flank which was nearest the enemy; posted archers and slingers between the maniples and placed all his cavalry on the wings. Then after a few words of suitable exhortation he gave the order 'Left turn' and led his battle-line down into the plain.

Metellus sends on Rutilius to prepare a camp by the river.

But when he perceived that the Numidians remained 50 quiet and did not move from the hill, fearing that owing to the season of the year and the lack of water his army would be worn out by thirst, he sent on his lieutenant Rutilius with the light-armed cohorts and part of the cavalry to the river, that he might occupy a position for the camp in advance. For he thought that the enemy would attempt to delay his own advance by frequent onslaughts and flank attacks, and so would seek to effect with the aid of thirst and fatigue what he could not hope to win by force of arms. This done, he proceeded slowly on his way in the same formation, with due regard to the circumstances and the nature of the ground. Marius marched immediately in rear of the main body, while he himself was with the cavalry on the left wing which had now become the leading detachment. 2

Repulse of the Numidians after a desperate battle.

But Jugurtha, as soon as he saw that Metellus' column 3 had cleared his advance-guard, occupied the portion of the mountain by which Metellus had just descended, posting 2,000 infantry there to bar the Roman's way in the event of a retreat. Then suddenly he gave the signal and charged. Some of the Numidians assailed 4 our rear, others our flanks, and their onslaught was so violent that the Roman ranks were thrown into disorder. For even those who made the stoutest resistance to the enemy were bewildered by the uncertain nature of the conflict, were wounded at long range and unable to close with their assailants or return their blows. The 5 Numidian cavalry following Jugurtha's instructions did not retire in mass or to the same place, when the Roman squadron began to pursue them, but scattered in widely

6 different directions. Then, thanks to their superiority in numbers, if they failed to frighten the enemy from their pursuit, they would sweep down upon our scattered troopers and cut them off. Again, if ever the hill-side provided a better means of escape than the level ground, the Numidian horses were trained to such tactics and easily escaped through the brushwood, whereas ours were kept back by the roughness and unfamiliarity of the ground. The battle afforded a variety of aspects, all of them distressing and lamentable. Here some were cut off and yielded ground, there others pressed forward in pursuit: all regular formation was lost, each man resisted and beat back the peril on the spot where it found him; weapons of all kinds, men and horses, Romans and Numidians were mingled pell-mell; plan and command alike were lacking, and chance ruled all.

2 The day was now far spent and the result still in doubt.

3 At last when all were worn out with the fighting and the heat, Metellus, noting that the Numidians were slackening their attacks, gradually rallied his troops, re-formed their ranks, and stationed four cohorts of legionaries to face the Numidian infantry, the greater portion of whom had taken up their position on the heights, being weary

4 of the battle. At the same time he implored and exhorted his soldiers not to fail him nor to suffer their elusive enemy to be victorious. 'There is no camp,' he said, 'nor any defence, whither we may fly. Our good

5 swords alone can save us.' Neither was Jugurtha idle. He rode round his troops and cheered them on, renewed the battle, and himself with a chosen band did all that man might do; came to the rescue where help was needed, charged the enemy where they wavered, and where they stood firm occupied them by volleys at long

52 range. Thus did those two gallant commanders vie with one another; well matched in person, but not in resources. Metellus had the braver troops, but the ground was against him, while Jugurtha had everything

3 in his favour except his soldiers. At last the Romans, seeing that there was no place whither they could withdraw for safety and that the enemy would not close, and the day wore to its end, saved the situation by scaling the hill in front of them, in obedience to their

general's orders. The Numidians on losing this position 4 scattered in flight; few were killed, the majority being saved by their swiftness of foot and the fact that the country was strange to their opponents.

Bomilcar lets Rutilius pass him and then prepares to attack his camp by the river.

Meanwhile Bomilcar, whom Jugurtha had placed in 5 command of the elephants and a portion of the infantry, let Rutilius pass him, then gradually led his forces down into the level ground where he drew up his army in suitable formation and sent out scouts to discover what the enemy was doing. Rutilius meanwhile pressed on to the river in pursuance of his instructions. As soon 6 as Bomilcar learned that Rutilius had encamped and was now free to act as he chose, while the noise of Jugurtha's battle seemed to be increasing, he was seized with fear that the Roman lieutenant on perceiving that his comrades were hard pressed might march to their assistance. Accordingly with a view to preventing such action he extended his line of battle (which, distrusting his soldiers' valour, he had drawn up in close formation), and thus proceeded to Rutilius' camp.

A battle ensues. Rutilius is successful and effects a junction with Metellus.

Romani ex improvise pulveris vim magnam animad- 53
vortunt: nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari, post ubi aequabilem manere et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re properantes arma capiunt ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. deinde, ubi propius ventum est, 2 utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidae tantum modo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, 3 postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum atque ita disiectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt ac plerique, abiectis armis, collis aut noctis quae iam aderat auxilio integri abeunt. elephantum quattuor capti, reliqui omnes 4

5 numero quadraginta interfecti. at Romani, quamquam
 itinere atque opere castrorum et proelio fessi erant,
 tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur,
 6 instructi intentique obviam procedunt. nam dolus
 7 Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. ac
 primo obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se
 erant, strepitu velut hostes adventare, alteri apud alteros
 formidinem simul et tumultum facere et paene impru-
 dentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque prae-
 8 missi equites rem exploravissent. igitur pro metu
 repente gaudium mutatur, milites alius alium laeti
 appellant, acta edocent atque audiunt, sua quisque fortia
 facta ad caelum fert. quippe res humanae ita sese habent:
 in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet, advorsae res etiam
 bonos detrectant.

*Jugurtha retires into the mountains to wage a guerilla warfare.
 Metellus retaliates by laying the country waste.*

- 54 Metellus in eisdem castris quadriduo moratus saucios
 cum cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat,
 univorsos in contione laudat atque agit gratias, hortatur
 ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro
 victoria satis iam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda
 2 fore. et tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos,
 Jugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitare, cum paucisne
 esset an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret,
 3 exploratum misit. at ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura
 munita receperat ibique cogebat exercitum numero
 hominum ampliorem sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac
 4 pecoris magis quam belli cultorem. id ea gratia
 eveniebat, quod praeter regios equites nemo omnium
 Numida ex fuga regem sequitur: quo cuiusque animus
 fert, eo discedunt neque id flagitium militiae ducitur.
 ita se mores habent.
- 5 Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum

ferocem esse, bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubidine geri non posset, praeterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci quam suos vincere, statuit non proeliis neque in acie, sed alio more bellum gerendum. itaque in loca Numidiae opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida temere munita aut sine praesidio capit incenditque, puberes interfici iubet, alia omnia militum praedam esse. ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides, frumentum et alia quae usui forent adfatim praebita, ubicumque res postulabat praesidium inpositum. quae 7 negotia multo magis quam proelium male pugnatum ab suis regem terrebant; quippe, cuius spes omnis in fuga 8 sita erat, sequi cogebatur et, qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. tamen ex copia 9 quod optimum videbatur consilium capit, exercitum plerumque in eisdem locis opperiri iubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantis repente aggreditur. eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo 10 omnium intactus profugit et Numidiae, priusquam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti iussi erant, in proximos collis discedunt.

Enthusiasm at Rome.

Meanwhile there was great joy at Rome, when they 55 learned that Metellus was leading his army like the great Romans of old, and though taken at a disadvantage had by sheer courage won a glorious victory, with the result that he was master of the enemy's country and had forced Jugurtha, whom the sloth of Albinus had made so arrogant, to place all his hopes of safety in flight or retirement to the desert. The senate therefore 2 decreed a public thanksgiving for these successes; the citizens, before so anxious and desponding, joyfully anticipated a successful conclusion to the war, and Metellus' reputation stood exceeding high.

Tactics of Metellus

3 These circumstances intensified his efforts for victory. He did all that he could to hasten on the end, and yet took every precaution to avoid a surprise by the enemy,
4 knowing that pride comes before a fall. And so the increase in his reputation merely made him the more anxious, and since the trap that Jugurtha had laid for him he no longer dispersed his army to ravage the country. When corn or forage was required, he sent out cohorts with all his cavalry to escort the convoy. He himself led part of the army, leaving the remainder
5 to Marius. But it was by fire rather than pillage that
6 they laid waste the countryside. The two commanders would encamp at no great distance from each other.
7 When force was required, every man was employed, but to increase the terror of the enemy they acted
8 independently. All the while Jugurtha followed amid the hills, waiting a suitable occasion for battle. Wherever he heard the enemy was likely to advance, he destroyed both fodder and water-supply, of both of which there was a great scarcity. He displayed his forces now to Metellus, now to Marius, made raids upon their rear-guards and retired to the hills, and then once more threatened attack in one place or another. He would neither join battle nor allow them any rest, but contented himself with impeding the Romans in the
56 execution of their enterprises. The Roman general, seeing that he was being harassed by the cunning enemy without ever being given opportunity for battle, resolved to besiege the large town of Zama, which contained one of Jugurtha's palaces. For he thought that thus he would secure what was so necessary, namely that Jugurtha would come to aid his people in their distress,
2 and that there would be a pitched battle. But Jugurtha, on learning of his design from deserters, by dint of forced marches reached Zama before Metellus, exhorted the inhabitants to defend the walls, and increased the garrison by the addition of deserters, the most reliable of his troops, because they did not dare to play him false. Further, he promised that at the right moment he
3 would come to their aid. Having made these dispositions, he retired to the best hiding-place he could find.

Fight at Sicca.

Soon afterwards he learned that Marius had been sent with a few cohorts to get corn at Sicca, a town which had been the first to renounce its allegiance to Jugurtha after his defeat. With a picked force⁴ of cavalry he proceeded thither by night and, when the Romans came out, joined battle with them at the gate. At the same time he shouted to the people of Sicca to surround the cohorts from behind. 'You have,' he cried, 'the chance to do a glorious deed. Do it and I shall be king again and you free men released from fear of Rome.' Unless Marius had charged and made⁵ haste to leave the town, there can be no doubt that all or at any rate the greater part of the inhabitants would have gone over to the enemy; so fickle are the Numidians. But Jugurtha's troops, though for a while⁶ the king made them stand fast, as the pressure from the Romans increased, fled from the field after losing a few of their number.

Siege of Zama.

Marius proceeded to Zama. This town relied on its⁵⁷ fortifications rather than on its position, which is in the open plain. It was fully equipped for a siege, having men and munitions in abundance. Metellus therefore,² after making the necessary preparations, beleaguered the town and appointed commanders for the different portions of the line. Then at a given signal a huge³ shout was raised all round the town. The Numidians were unshaken and awaited the attack with vigilance, courage, and composure. The battle began. The⁴ Romans kept up a fire from slings and siege-engines at long range, under cover of which others approached the walls and proceeded to undermine them or attack them with scaling ladders, being eager to come to close quarters. The townsmen on the other hand rolled rocks down⁵ upon their heads and hurled stakes and javelins and pitch mixed with burning sulphur and resin. But even those who had remained at a distance derived but little safety from their timidity, since numbers of them were wounded by the missiles launched from the siege-

engines or hurled by hand; coward and hero shared the peril, though not the glory, of the day.

Jugurtha attacks the Roman camp. Momentary panic threatens disaster, but the Numidians are driven off. Jugurtha attacks a second time and is repulsed after a hard struggle. A general assault on Zama is beaten back.

- 58 Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Iugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit, remissis qui in praesidio erant et omnia magis quam proelium expectantibus portam irrumpit. at nostri repentino metu percussi sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere, magna pars vulnerati aut occisi. ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis Romani grege facto locum cepere paulo quam alii editiorem neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt, sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrari; sin Numidae propius adcessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere et eos maxuma vi caedere fundere atque fugare. interim Metellus cum acerrume rem gereret, clamorem hostilem a tergo accepit, dein convorso equo animadvortit fugam ad se vorsum fieri: quae res indicabat popularis esse. igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere misit ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum, eumque lacrumans per amicitiam perque rem publicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore neve hostis inultos abire sinat. ille brevi mandata efficit. at Iugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum praecipitentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus infecto negotio, postquam nox 59 aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur. igitur postero die, prius quam ad obpugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare iubet, portas et proxima loca tribunis dispertit,

deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum atque uti superiore die murum aggreditur. interim Iugurtha ex occulto repente 2 nostros invadit. qui in proximo locati fuerant, paulisper territi perturbantur, reliqui cito subveniunt. neque 3 diutius Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent. quibus illi freti non, uti equestri proelio solet, sequi, dein cedere, sed advorsis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem: ita expeditis peditibus suis hostis paene victos dare. eodem tempore apud 60 Zamam magna vi certabatur. ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrime niti, neque alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere pariterque oppidani agere: oppugnare aut parare omnibus locis, avidius alteri alteros sauciare quam semet tegere, clamor 2 permixtus hortatione laetitia gemitu, item strepitus armorum ad caelum ferri, tela utrimque volare. sed 3 illi qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paulum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti proelium equestre prospectabant. eos, uti quaeque Iugurthae res erant, laetos 4 modo, modo pavidos animadvorteres ac, sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari aut manu significare aut niti corporibus et ea huc et illuc, quasi vitabundi aut iacentes tela, agitare. quod ubi 5 Mario cognitum est—nam is in ea parte curabat—consulto lenius agere ac diffidentiam rei simulare, pati Numidas sine tumultu regis proelium visere. ita 6 illis studio suorum adstrictis repente magna vi murum aggreditur. et iam scalis egressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides ignem alia 7 praeterea tela ingerunt. nostri primo resistere, deinde, ubi unae atque alterae scalae comminutae, qui supersteterant adflicti sunt, ceteri, quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars vulneribus confecti abeunt. denique utrimque proelium nox diremit.

Metellus goes to winter quarters. Intrigues with Bomilcar.

- 61 When Metellus saw that the enterprize had failed and that the town could not be taken, while Jugurtha refused to fight save by ambush or at a place of his own choosing, and the summer was now far spent, he left Zama and placed garrisons in those towns which had revolted from Jugurtha and were sufficiently defensible.
- 2 The rest of the army he sent to winter quarters in the
- 3 neighbouring province of Africa. Unlike others, he did not spend the winter in rest or luxury, but, since force of arms had made so little headway, attempted to entrap the king through the agency of his friends and to use their treachery as a weapon against him.
- 4 He therefore approached Bomilcar and attempted to seduce him by many promises, since his intimacy with Jugurtha afforded golden occasions for his betrayal.
- 5 First he induced him to visit him in secret, and then, by promising a free pardon from the senate and the restoration of all his property, if he would deliver Jugurtha into his hands, dead or alive, he easily won the Numidian's consent. For he was disloyal by nature and also feared that, if peace were made with the Romans, one of the conditions would be his surrender for execution.

Jugurtha makes a fresh offer of surrender.

- 62 So on the first opportunity he approached Jugurtha, who was a prey to despondency and anxiety for the future. He entreated him with tears to take steps at last to secure the safety of himself and his children and of the Numidian people who had served him so well. Every battle had been a defeat, the land was laid waste, many had been captured or slain and the resources of his kingdom sadly reduced. He had tried the loyalty of his soldiers and tempted fortune long enough, and there was a danger that, if he delayed, the Numidians would take matters into their own hands. By such
- 2 arguments and the like he turned the king's mind to thoughts of surrender. Envoys were sent to the Roman
- 3 general to announce that Jugurtha would do his commands and surrendered himself and his kingdom un-
- 4 conditionally to his mercy. Metellus hurriedly summoned all senators from winter quarters and held a

council composed of them and others selected by himself. Then, when in accordance with the ancient custom of 5 Rome the council had given its decision, he ordered Jugurtha to surrender 200,000 pounds weight of silver, all his elephants, and a considerable quantity of horses and arms. This was done forthwith. Metellus then 6 demanded that all deserters should be brought to him in chains. The majority were brought, as demanded, 7 but a few had fled to king Bocchus in Mauretania at the commencement of the capitulation. Then Jugurtha, 8 seeing himself thus despoiled of men, arms, and money, and being summoned to Tisidium to receive orders concerning himself, began once more to change his purpose, while his guilty conscience told him that he was doomed to suffer his deserts.

Jugurtha breaks off negotiations.

Finally, after wasting much time in hesitation—for at 9 times he regarded any fate as better than war, while at others he reflected what a grievous fall it was from kingship into slavery—and after losing many important resources, he renewed the war. And at Rome the senate, when consulted as to the allotment of the provinces, assigned Numidia to Metellus.

Marius' ambition is kindled by a prophecy. His past life and character. He asks Metellus for leave to go to Rome and stand for the consulship. Metellus puts him off and on his renewing his request insults him, making him his deadly enemy.

Per idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per hostias 63 dis supplicanti magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat: proinde, quae animo agitabat, fretus dis ageret, fortunam quam saepissime experiretur, cuncta prospere eventura. at illum iam antea consulatus ingens cupido 2 exagitabat, ad quem capiundum praeter vetustatem familiae alia omnia abunde erant, industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubricinis et divitiarum victor, tantum modo gloriae avidus. sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini 3

altus, ubi primum aetas militiae patiens fuit, stipendiis
 faciundis, non Graeca facundia neque urbanis munditiis
 sese exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium
 4 brevi adolevit. ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem
 a populo petit, plerisque faciem eius ignorantibus, factis
 5 notus per omnis tribus declaratur. deinde ab eo magi-
 stratu alium post alium sibi peperit semperque in
 potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore quam gerebat
 6 dignus haberetur. tamen is ad id locorum talis vir—
 nam postea ambitione 'praeceps datus est—consulatum
 appetere non audebat. etiam tum alios magistratus
 plebs, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat.
 7 novus nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat,
 quin is indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.
 64 igitur ubi Marius haruspici dicta eodem intendere videt,
 quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia
 missionem rogat. cui quamquam virtus gloria atque
 alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor
 2 animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. itaque
 primum commotus insolita re mirari eius consilium et
 quasi per amicitiam monere ne tam prava inciperet neu
 super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus
 cupiunda esse, debere illi res suas satis placere; postremo
 3 caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi iure nega-
 retur. postquam haec atque alia talia dixit neque animus
 Mari flectitur, respondit, ubi primum potuisset per negotia
 4 publica, facturum sese quae peteret. ac postea saepius
 eadem postulanti fertur dixisse ne festinaret abire; satis
 mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum. is eo
 tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos
 natus circiter viginti. quae res Marium cum pro honore
 quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer
 5 accenderat. ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis consulto-
 ribus, grassari, neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere,
 quod modo ambitiosum foret; milites quibus in hibernis

praeerat laxiore imperio quam antea habere, apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, criminose simul et magnifice de bello loqui: dimidia pars exercitus si sibi permetteretur, paucis diebus Iugurtham in catenis habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet. quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, 6 quia diuturnitate belli res familiaris corruperant et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

Marius intrigues against Metellus at Rome.

There was moreover with our army a certain Numidian named Gauda, the son of Mastanabal and grandson of Masinissa, whom Micipsa had appointed his rever- 65 sionary heir. He was now old and decrepit, and his understanding was somewhat impaired. He asked 2 Metellus to assign him a seat at his side and to give him a troop of Roman knights as bodyguard. Metellus refused both requests, the first because it would imply that Rome recognized him as king, the second because it would be an insult to Roman knights to make them a Numidian's servants. While Gauda was brooding 3 over this rebuff, Marius urged him to seek revenge and promised his assistance. He proceeded to kindle his feeble mind still further by reminding him that he was a king, a great man, and the grandson of Masinissa. If Jugurtha was captured or killed, he would become king of Numidia without more ado. And Jugurtha's fall would not be long delayed, if he were sent as consul to conduct the war. And so, partly by his personal 4 influence, but still more by playing on their hopes of peace, he induced not merely Gauda, but Roman knights, who were serving as soldiers or engaged in commerce in Africa, to write to their friends at Rome, criticizing Metellus' conduct of the war and demanding that Marius should replace him. Thus he secured 5 a number of distinguished supporters of his claims, while at the same time the common people were enthusiastic for the employment of commoners after the discomfiture of the nobles by the Mamilian Law. Everything in fact was in Marius' favour.

The massacre of Vaga.

66 Meanwhile Jugurtha, having refused to surrender and renewed the war, made speedy and vigorous preparations for the fray, attempted by threats or promises of reward to win over the towns which had renounced their allegiance, fortified his strong places, made good by purchase or repairs the loss of arms and equipment which he had sacrificed in the hope of peace, lured Roman slaves to join him, and even attempted to bribe the Roman garrisons to desert. In fact he left no stone
2 unturned, but spread unrest everywhere. His entreaties found an immediate response at Vaga, where Metellus had established a garrison at the commencement of the negotiations for peace. The leading citizens had always been loyal at heart and now began to conspire together against the Romans. As for the common folk, they, as is usually the case, more especially among Numidians, were of a fickle temper, rebellious, quarrelsome, inclined for revolution, and no lovers of peace and quiet. Having made the necessary dispositions they timed the outbreak for the next day but one, a festival on which all Africa kept holiday, and mirth and merrymaking would banish
3 all dark suspicions. When the time was come, they invited the centurions and military tribunes, together with the commandant himself, one Titus Turpilius Silanus, to their various houses and slew them all as they feasted, Turpilius alone escaping. This done, they attacked the soldiers who were strolling about unarmed, since, the day being a holiday, the bonds of
4 discipline were relaxed. The common folk joined in the assault, some because the nobles bade them, others because, though the purpose of the outbreak was a matter of indifference, riot and revolt were sufficient attractions
67 in themselves. The Roman soldiers, caught unawares and at a loss what to do, were seized with panic. Their standards and shields were in the citadel, now held by the enemy, while the closing of the gates precluded all hope of flight. Moreover women and boys kept hurling
2 stones and tiles from the housetops. It was impossible to ward off a danger that came from all sides at once, and even the bravest were helpless against the missiles hurled by the weak hands of women and children.

Good and bad, hero and coward, all alike were slaughtered unavenged. From this horrible massacre the ³ commandant Turpilius alone escaped. How he did so—whether his host had pity on him, whether it was the result of chance or of some secret understanding—I cannot tell. This only is certain, that he was regarded as a villain and an outcast, because on that day of disaster he had preferred a life of dishonour to an unsullied reputation.

Metellus takes vengeance.

Metellus, on hearing of the massacre, retired for a ⁶⁸ brief space to hide his grief. Then sorrow and anger joined forces in his soul, and he made haste to take the most thorough vengeance. At sunset he led out the ² legion which was with him in winter quarters, and as many Numidian horsemen as he could muster. On the next day about nine in the morning he reached a level spot slightly lower than the surrounding country. There he told his troops, who were weary and ready to ³ drop, that Vaga was not more than a thousand paces distant, and that it was their duty to endure uncomplainingly the labours that still awaited them, that so they might avenge their brave comrades who had met with such a miserable end. Finally he cheered them with the hope of the booty that awaited them. Having thus ⁴ roused their spirits, he ordered the cavalry to lead the way in extended order, and the infantry to follow in close formation with their standards concealed. When ⁶⁹ the people of Vaga perceived the army approaching, their first act was to close the gates, for they supposed it was Metellus, as was actually the case. But when they saw that the fields were not being laid waste and that the vanguard was composed of Numidian horsemen they changed their minds and, thinking that it was Jugurtha, went out with joy to greet him. Suddenly ² at a given signal cavalry and infantry attacked: some hewed down the crowd that had poured forth from the town, others rushed to the gates or seized the towers. In their fury and their hope of plunder their fatigue was all forgotten. Thus the people of Vaga had but ³ two days' joy of their treachery; for the whole of that

great and wealthy city was given up to punishment and plunder. Turpilius, the commandant of whose escape I have spoken, was ordered by Metellus, to state his case. As he failed to clear himself, he was condemned and scourged, and paid for his misconduct with his life.

Bomilcar plots against Jugurtha's life with Nabdalsa as accomplice. A letter of his is taken while Nabdalsa sleeps, and Bomilcar and others are put to death.

70 Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cuius impulsu Iugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi et ipse eum suspiciens novas res cupere, ad perniciem eius dolum quaerere, die noctuque fatigare animum; denique omnia temptando socium sibi adiungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quae Iugurthae fesso aut maioribus adstricto superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventae. igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur. cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum iussus habebat, ne ager inultis hostibus vastaretur. is postquam magnitudine facinoris percussus ad tempus non venit metusque rem inpediebat, Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi et timore socii anxius, ne omisso vetere consilio novom quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, in quis mollitiam socordiamque viri accusare, testari deos, per quos iuravisset, monere ne praemia Metelli in pestem convorteret; Iugurthae exitium adesse, ceterum suane an Metelli virtute periret, id modo agitari; proinde reputaret cum animo suo, 71 praemia an cruciatum mallet. sed cum eae litterae adlatae, forte Nabdalsa exercito corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomilcaris verbis primo cura, deinde, uti aegrum animum solet, somnus cepit. erat

ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque et omnium consiliorum nisi novissumi particeps. qui postquam adlatas litteras audivit et ex consuetudine ratus opera aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introiit, dormiente illo epistulam super caput in pulvino temere positam sumit ac perlegit, dein propere cognitis insidiis ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa paulo post expectus ubi neque epistulam repperit et rem omnem uti acta erat cognovit, primo indicem persequi conatus, postquam id frustra fuit, Iugurtham placandi gratia adcedit: dicit quae ipse paravisset facere perfidia clientis sui praeventa; lacrumans obtestatur per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet. ad ea rex aliter atque animo gerebat placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis iram oppresserat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oreretur. neque post id locorum Iugurthae dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit; neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere, civis hostisque iuxta metuere, circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pavescere, alio atque alio loco saepe contra decus regium noctu requiescere, interdum somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum facere, ita formidine quasi vecordia exagitari.

Marius returns to Rome and is chosen consul.

When Metellus heard from deserters of Bomilcar's end and the discovery of his designs, he began once more to make rapid preparations for action, as though the war were only at its commencement. Marius wearied him with requests for his discharge that he now sent him home. An additional motive for so doing was that he thought his presence of little use, since he did not wish to remain and was angry with his chief.

Meanwhile at Rome the common folk were much delighted with the letters which had arrived praising Marius and censuring Metellus. The high birth of the

latter, which had once secured him respect, now made him unpopular, while Marius won favour by his humble origin. But in both cases it was party spirit rather than their real merits or defects that determined the feelings of the people. Further, turbulent magistrates did their best to excite the rabble. There was not an assembly at which they did not bring the gravest charges against Metellus, while praising Marius' valour to the skies. Finally the common folk became so excited that working men from town and country alike left their work and thronged about Marius, counting their own necessities as naught compared with his success at the poll. And so after many struggles the nobles were cowed and a commoner was chosen consul. Further, the people on being asked by the tribune, Titus Manlius Mancinus, whom they wished to direct the war against Jugurtha cried out as one man for Marius. The senate had just previously allotted Numidia to Metellus, but their decision was ineffective.

Defeat of Jugurtha by Metellus.

74 About the same time Jugurtha was reduced to great doubt and hesitation through the loss of all his friends. Most of these he himself had slain, while the remainder had fled in terror to the Romans or Bocchus. The war could not be carried on without officers, and after the faithlessness of his old friends he regarded it as a most perilous experiment to place any trust in the new. He kept changing his marching orders and his officers daily, now advanced against the enemy, now retired into the deserts, often placed all his hopes in flight and then a few days later relied on armed aggression, while he was in continual doubt as to whether the courage or loyalty of his people was least to be trusted. And so wherever he went he found obstacles in his path. But while he thus delayed, suddenly Metellus appeared with his army. The Numidians were drawn up by Jugurtha as well as the emergency permitted and a battle began. Wherever the king was present in person, his troops for a while fought well; elsewhere they were broken and driven in flight at the first shock. The Romans captured a considerable number of

standards and arms, but only a few prisoners; for in all their battles the Numidians find greater security in swiftness of foot than in force of arms.

This defeat increased Jugurtha's despondency and he retired into the desert with a force composed of Roman deserters and a portion of his cavalry, at last reaching Thala, a large and wealthy city, where most of his treasure was stored, and there was an ample household for his children. When Metellus learned this, despite the fact that between Thala and the nearest river there were fifty miles of waterless desert, in the hope of ending the war by the capture of this city, he attempted to conquer all difficulties and to vanquish even nature herself.

Capture of Thala. The garrison commit suicide after destroying everything of value.

igitur omnia iumenta sarcinis levare iubet nisi frumento dierum decem, ceterum utris modo et alia aquae idonea portari. praeterea conquirat ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti pecoris. eo inponit vasa cuiusque modi, sed pleraque lignea, conlecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. ad hoc finitumis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquae portaret. diem locumque, ubi praesto forent, praedicat, ipse ex flumine, quam proximum oppido aquam esse supra diximus, iumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. deinde ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente caelo missa vis aquae dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. praeterea commeatus spe amplior, quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova deditioe, officia intenderant. ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi, eaque res multum animis eorum addidit. nam rati sese dis immortalibus curae esse. deinde postero die contra opinionem Iugurthae ad Thalam perveniunt. oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque

insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare, idem
 76 nostri facere. sed rex nihil iam infectum Metello
 credens, quippe qui omnia, arma tela locos tempora,
 denique naturam ipsam ceteris imperitantem industria
 vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido
 noctu profugit, neque postea in ullo loco amplius uno
 die aut una nocte moratus simulabat sese negoti gratia
 properare. ceterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare
 posse celeritate putabat; nam talia consilia per otium
 2 et ex opportunitate capi. at Metellus, ubi oppidanos
 proelio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus et loco
 munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit.
 3 deinde locis ex copia maxume idoneis vineas agere,
 aggerem iacere et super aggerem inpositis turribus opus
 4 et administros tutari. contra haec oppidani festinare
 parare, prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri.
 5 denique Romani multo ante labore proeliisque fatigati,
 post dies quadraginta quam eo ventum erat, oppido
 6 modo potiti, praeda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. ei
 postquam murum arietibus feriri resque suas adflictas
 vident, aurum atque argentum et alia quae prima
 ducuntur domum regiam conportant. ibi vino et epulis
 onerati illaque et domum et semet igni corrumpunt et
 quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi
 volentes pependere.

77 *The Phoenician town of Leptis Major between the two
 Syrtes sends to Metellus asking for a garrison to be sent
 there. Otherwise it was likely that a turbulent noble
 named Hamilcar might succeed in detaching the city from
 Rome. As the town had shown itself a loyal ally
 throughout the war, Metellus sent four cohorts of*
 78 *Ligurians. The town, although intermarriage had
 resulted in a considerable infusion of Numidian blood, was
 still mainly Phoenician as far as its laws and customs
 were concerned, owing to the deserts which separated them
 from the more populous regions of Numidia.*

79 *A digression follows on the story of the Philacni. Cyrene*

and Carthage resolved to settle their frontier question by each sending commissioners to meet each other. The point where they met was to be accepted as the frontier. The Cyrenaeans were outdistanced by the Carthaginians, and refused to agree that their meeting-place should mark the frontier, as it would mean an uneven distribution of territory. Finally they proposed that both parties should go back and start afresh, unless the Carthaginians would consent to be buried alive on the spot. The Philaeni who represented Carthage chose rather to be buried alive. An altar was erected at their grave and thereafter marked the boundary line between Carthage and Cyrene.

Jugurtha induces Bocchus to join him.

After the loss of Thala Jugurtha felt that nothing 80
was safe against Metellus, and setting out through
great deserts with a small force, reached the Gaetulians,
a savage people who at that period had never heard of
Rome. He united their scattered multitudes, taught 1
them gradually to adopt regular formations, follow their
standards, obey orders, and perform all the duties of
trained soldiers. Further, by means of great gifts and 3
greater promises he induced the subjects of Bocchus to
support him and began to incite their master to make
war against the Romans. Bocchus was all the more 4
easy to persuade, since at the beginning of the war he
had sent ambassadors to Rome to ask for a treaty of
friendship, but despite the great value of his offers he 5
had been rebuffed by the blind avarice of a few who
would make no concession, honourable or the reverse.
without being paid for it. Further, at a still earlier date 6
Jugurtha had married one of his daughters. Such ties,
however, count for little among the Moors and Numi-
dians, since the richer the individual, the greater the
number of his wives, who may amount to ten or more
in the case of private persons and a still greater number
in the case of kings. Their affections therefore are 7
distributed among a number : no one wife is queen, but
all are regarded as of equally small account. Accord- 81
ingly the two armies met at an appointed place. Both
parties swore to be true to one another, and Jugurtha
kindled the anger of Bocchus against the Romans by a

speech in which he said that they had no regard for justice, that their greed was bottomless, and that they were the common enemies of all mankind: they had the same motives for war with Bocchus that had moved them to attack himself and other nations, namely, their lust of empire, which made them regard all kings as their foes: to-day Jugurtha had been marked down for their enmity: yesterday it was Carthage and king Perseus; to-morrow it would be the wealthiest adversary they could find. After these words, and others of like purport, they proceeded to Cirta, where Metellus had stored his booty, his prisoners, and his baggage. Jugurtha anticipated one of two things. Either they would be rewarded by the capture of the city, or Metellus would come to the rescue and there would be a battle. For he desired above all things to embroil Bocchus with the Romans and leave him with no alternative but war.

Metellus is superseded by Marius. He negotiates with Bocchus.

- 82 Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere neque, uti saepe iam victo Iugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit. ceterum haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis reges opperitur, melius esse ratus cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis adcesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. interim
- 2 Roma per litteras certior fit provinciam Numidiam Mario datam, nam consulem factum ante acceperat, quibus rebus supra bonum aut honestum percussus, neque lacrimas tenere neque moderari linguam, vir egregius in aliis artibus nimis molliter aegritudinem
- 3 pati. quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant, alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse, multi, quod iam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur. nobis satis cognitum est illum magis honore Mari quam iniuria sua excruciatum neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si
- 83 adempta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur. igitur eo dolore impeditus et quia stultitiae videbatur alienam

rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit postulatam ne sine causa hostis populo Romano fieret : habere tum magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque coniungendae, quae potior bello esset, et quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare : omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrime desinere ; non in eiusdem potestate initium eius et finem esse ; incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo licere, deponi, cum victores velint ; proinde sibi regnoque suo consuleret, neu florentis res suas cum Iugurthae perditis misceret. ad ea rex satis placide verba facit : sese² pacem cupere, sed Iugurthae fortunarum misereri ; si³ eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura. rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit ; ille probare partim, alia abnuere. eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nuntiis tempus procedere et ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.

Marius' violent language and energetic action.

Marius, however, having been elected consul amid⁸⁴ the enthusiasm of the common folk and then appointed to the Numidian command by a decree of the people, proceeded to make a violent and reckless attack upon the nobles, of whom he had always been the enemy. Now he assailed them as individuals, now as a class, boasting that the consulship was the spoil of victory, with much else to his own glory and to their annoyance. But his first care was to provide the necessaries of war :² he demanded reinforcements for the legions and auxiliary troops from the allied kings and peoples, while he further called upon the bravest of the Latins, most of them of proved worth in battle, though few known to fame, and made a personal appeal to time-expired veterans to go with him to Africa. The senate,³ although it bore him no good will, did not dare to refuse any of his requests : indeed it was only too pleased to pass the vote for reinforcements, since it thought that the common folk had no desire for military service and that Marius would either fail to secure the

requirements of war or would forfeit his popularity. But their hopes were in vain. There was nothing that most men desired more than to serve under Marius. 4 Each man thought that he would return home a hero enriched with the spoils of victory, while a speech delivered by Marius had created the wildest enthusiasm. 5 For when he had secured all his demands and was desirous of levying troops, he called an assembly of the people, in order to encourage them and at the same time to denounce the nobles in his accustomed style. He proceeded to speak as follows :

Marius' speech to the people.

85 ' Fellow-citizens, I know that too often the conduct of men in office is wholly at variance with the promises which they made as candidates. At first they are full of energy, humbly entreat your support, and bear themselves with moderation. But, once elected, they pass their time 2 in sluggish ease and haughty disdain. That is not my conception of my duty. For as the commonwealth is a greater thing than the praetorship or consulate, so its administration should be the object of greater care 3 than we expend upon our seeking for office. I am well aware how heavy is the responsibility which your kindness has laid upon me. It is harder than might be thought to prepare for war and spare the public coffers, to enrol those whom you are most unwilling to offend, to keep an eye on everything both at home and abroad, and to do all this in the midst of envy, faction, and 4 obstruction. Further, when others offend, they are shielded by their ancient lineage, by the brave deeds of their ancestors, the resources of their kith and kin, and the multitude of their retainers. But all my hopes of success are centred in myself, and naught save virtue 5 and innocency can bring them to fruition. I know too that all men's eyes are turned upon me, that all fair-minded citizens pray for my success—for all my achievements have been for the good of the state—but 6 that the nobles seek occasion to attack me. Therefore I must put forth all my efforts that you may not be deceived and that their designs may be brought to 7 naught. From my boyhood to this day my life has

been such that toil and peril are familiar to me in all their forms. What I did for nothing before you conferred these honours upon me, I shall not cease to do now that I have received my wages. It is only those whose honesty was but a feint to serve their ambition, that cannot control themselves when in place and power. I have spent all my life in the paths of virtue, until well-doing has become second nature. You have bidden me fight Jugurtha, and the nobles take it very ill. Consider then, I pray you, whether it would not be better to make a fresh appointment and send some man of ancient lineage and many ancestors, but with never a campaign to his credit, that his complete ignorance of all his duties may fill him with dismay and send him in hot haste to find some man of the people who will instruct him what to do. That is what usually happens; the man you bid to lead your armies, generally looks for another to do the leading. And some too I know who after their appointment as consuls have betaken themselves to the study of the history of Rome and Greek text-books on the art of war. They put the cart before the horse. For though in point of time the conduct of affairs comes after appointment to office, in actual practice it should be a necessary antecedent to any such appointment.

'Compare me, the poor commoner, with the nobles. My greatness lies in noble deeds, theirs in an empty name; they trade on the reputation of their ancestors; they are as vicious and incompetent as they are haughty and cruel. I have been brought up to believe in the dignity of labour, of virtue, and of the arts of war.'

'comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novom. quae illi audire aut legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi litteris, ea ego militando didici. nunc vos existumate facta an dicta pluris sint. contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum ignaviam; mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur. quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum.

16 ac si iam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset,
mene an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros
17 creditis, nisi sese liberos quam optimos voluisse? quodsi
iure me despiciunt, faciant idem maioribus suis, qui-
18 bus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit. invident
honoris meo: ergo invideant labori innocentiae periculis
19 etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. verum
homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi
vostros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi
20 honeste vixerint. ne illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissimas
res pariter exspectant, ignaviae voluptatem et praemia
21 virtutis. atque etiam, cum apud vos aut in senatu verba
faciunt, pleraque oratione maiores suos extollunt, eorum
22 fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant. quod
contra est. nam quanto vita illorum praeclarior, tanto
23 horum socordia flagitiosior. et profecto ita se res habet:
maiorum gloria posteris quasi lumen est, neque bona
24 neque mala eorum in occulto patitur. huiusce rei
ego inopiam fateor, Quirites, verum, id quod multo
25 praeclarior est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. nunc
videte quam iniqui sint. quod ex aliena virtute sibi
adrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt, scilicet quia
imagines non habeo et quia mihi nova nobilitas est,
quam certe peperisse melius est quam acceptam
26 corrupisse. equidem ego non ignoro, si iam mihi
respondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam
orationem fore. sed in vostro maximo beneficio cum
omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit
reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret.
27 nam me quidem ex animi mei sententia nulla oratio
laedere potest. quippe vera necesse est bene praedicent,
28 falsa vita moresque mei superant. sed quoniam vostra
consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et
maximum negotium inposuistis, etiam atque etiam
29 reputate, num eorum paenitendum sit. non possum fidei

causa imagines neque triumphos aut consulatus maiorum meorum ostentare, at, si res postulet, hastas vexillum phaleras alia militaria dona, praeterea cicatrices advorso corpore. hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae ego meis plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. non sunt composita verba mea: parvi id facio. ipsa se virtus satis ostendit. illis artificio opus est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant. neque litteras Graecas didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerant. at illa multo optima rei publicae doctus sum hostem ferire, praesidium agitare, nihil metuere nisi turpem famam, hiemem et aestatem iuxta pati, humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. his ego praeceptis milites hortabor neque illos arte colam, me opulenter, neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. namque cum tute per mollitiam agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est dominum, non imperatorem esse. haec atque talia maiores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam celebrare. quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aemulos contemnit, et omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. maiores eorum omnia quae licebat illis reliquere, divitias imagines memoriam sui praeclaram; virtutem non reliquere, neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono neque accipitur. sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno neque histrionem ullum neque pluris preti coquam quam vilicum habeo. quae mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites. nam ex parente meo et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi: munditias mulieribus, laborem viris convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae quam divitiarum esse; arma, non suppellectilem decori esse.

Conclusion of the speech.

41 ' Nay, let them continue to pursue their hearts' desire,
love on, drink on ! passing their old age as they passed
their youth, in revelling, gluttony, and worse ! Let them
leave the dust and sweat to us, to whom such things are
42 better than a feast. But they do not so. For when the
villains have disgraced themselves by crime, they go
43 about to steal the rewards due to virtue ; and thus the
foul vices of sloth and luxury bring no hurt to their
votaries ; it is the innocent state alone that suffers.
44 And now, since I have answered them as my known
character, not their crimes, demanded that they should
45 be answered, I will say something of public affairs. In
the first place, as regards Numidia, I would have you
all be of good courage. For you have swept away all
those things which have hitherto protected Jugurtha,
I mean avarice, incompetence, and pride. Furthermore
the army is well used to the country, but its good
46 fortune has not been equal to its valour. For the avarice
or rashness of its leaders have sadly reduced its
47 efficiency. Wherefore I call on all of you that are of
military age, to help me and do your duty to the state
with all your might. Nor let any be afraid because
of the disasters which have befallen others or by
reason of the outrageous pride of our commanders.
I shall be with you on the march and in the battle,
at once directing you and sharing your perils, and in
all things your interests shall be as dear to me as my
48 own. And I can assure you that by the grace of heaven
all is ripe for your coming ; victory, booty, and renown
await you. And even were they doubtful or remote
in prospect, it would still become all good citizens to
49 do what they can to save the state. For sloth never
made any man immortal, nor did ever father pray for
his sons that they might live for ever, but rather that
they should pass their life in virtue and honour.
50 Fellow-citizens, if words could lend valour to such as
tremble, I would say yet more. But for the brave,
methinks, I have said enough.'

Marius sets out for Africa.

Having delivered himself of this speech, Marius, 86 seeing that the spirit of the common folk was high, forthwith loaded the fleet with supplies, money, weapons, and other necessaries of war, and ordered his lieutenant Aulus Manlius to set forth. In the meantime he himself 2 enrolled fresh troops, not in the time-honoured way from the five classes, but taking every man that desired to serve, most of them from the poorest of the citizens. This procedure was attributed by some to the lack of 3 good material, by others to the ambitious designs of the consul, since the poorer classes were his most enthusiastic supporters; and for one who seeks after power the neediest make the best partisans, since they are not restrained by the thought of their own possessions, having none to lose, and regard all things as honourable provided they are accompanied by some tangible gain. Marius, therefore, departed for Africa with a somewhat 4 larger body of troops than had been actually voted, and in a few days reached Utica. The army was handed 5 over to him by Publius Rutilius. For Metellus avoided the sight of Marius, that he might not see that which it had been more than he could bear to hear.

Marius hardens his troops in a preliminary campaign.

After bringing the legions and auxiliary cohorts up to 87 their full establishment, the consul marched into a fertile district rich in plunder, gave all that was taken to his troops, and then proceeded to attack such forts and towns as were weakly garrisoned and ill protected by nature, fighting a number of engagements, none, however, of a very arduous character. Meanwhile the new 2 recruits began to face battle without fear, to note that those who fled were generally captured or killed, while the bravest suffered least, and finally that their weapons were the best means of protecting their freedom, their country, and their parents, and also of acquiring honour and riches. Thus in a short time veterans and recruits 3 were welded together, and the courage of all reached a uniform standard. But when the kings heard of 4 Marius' arrival, they withdrew in different directions into difficult country. This was Jugurtha's strategy,

since he hoped that thus the enemy would disperse his forces and offer a chance of attack, and that the Romans would be no exception to the rule that absence of fear
 88 leads to carelessness and indiscipline. Meanwhile Metellus set out for Rome, where much to his surprise he was enthusiastically received; for he was equally dear both to the common folk and the nobility, now that he was no longer the mark of envy and detraction.

Marius' tactics.

2 Marius showed the utmost prudence and energy in the care which he bestowed on the interests of his troops no less than in the prosecution of the campaign against the enemy. His scouts watched all the movements of the kings; he forestalled their designs and stratagems, and allowed no slackness in his own army
 3 nor security in theirs. Consequently he succeeded more than once in attacking and routing Jugurtha and the Gaetulians, as they were plundering our allies, while he inflicted such a defeat upon the king near Cirta
 4 that his troops flung away their weapons and fled. He was not long however in realizing that these operations, though they might win glory, would not end the war, and therefore resolved to besiege all those cities which were most serviceable to the enemy and embarrassing to us owing to the strength of their position or the numbers of their inhabitants; thus Jugurtha would either lose all his strong places or would be forced to give battle.
 5 As for Bocchus, he had sent frequent messages to say that he desired the friendship of the Roman people, and
 6 that nothing need be feared from him. Whether this was a feint to enable him to attack with all the greater effect, or was merely due to his fickle temper which led him to waver between war and peace, I have been unable to ascertain.

Marius determines to take Capsa, a fortress in the desert.

89 Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire, partim vi, alia metu aut praemia ostentando
 2 avortere ab hostibus. ac primo mediocria gerebat existumans Iugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus ven-

turum. sed ubi illum procul abesse et aliis negotiis ³
 intentum accepit, maiora et magis aspera aggredi tempus ⁴
 visum est. erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum
 magnum atque valens nomine Capsa, cuius conditor
 Hercules Libys memorabatur. eius cives apud Iugur-
 tham immunes, levi imperio et ob ea fidelissimi habeban-
 tur, muniti advorsum hostis non moenibus modo et armis
 atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate.
 nam praeter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta, inculta, ⁵
 egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus, quarum vis sicuti
 omnium ferarum inopia cibi acrior. ad hoc natura
 serpentium ipsa perniciosa siti magis quam alia re
 accenditur. eius potiundi Marium maxuma cupido in- ⁶
 vaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera
 videbatur et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria
 ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque, nisi quod
 apud Thalam non longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant,
 Capsenses una modo atque ea intra oppidum iugi aqua,
 cetera pluvia utebantur; idque ibi ut in omni Africa, ⁷
 qua procul a mari incultius agebant, eo facilius toleraba-
 tur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne
 vescebantur et neque salem neque alia irritamenta gulae
 quaerebant: cibus illis advorsus famem atque sitim,
 non lubrici neque luxuriae erat.

Fall of Capsa.

The consul therefore made a careful reconnaissance, ⁹⁰
 but also, I think, relied on the favour of heaven, since
 in the face of such difficulties adequate provision was
 beyond the power of human wisdom. For he was
 hampered* by lack of corn, since the Numidians are
 more concerned with providing pasture for their flocks
 than with the tillage of the soil, and by the orders
 of Jugurtha had conveyed all their grain into his
 strong places, while the earth at that season was parched
 and dry and bare of produce. None the less he
 equipped his force with such supplies as foresight and

2 the available resources rendered possible. He made
over the cattle captured in the preceding period to
the auxiliary cavalry to drive. He ordered his lieu-
tenant Aulus Manlius to proceed with a force of light
cohorts to the town of Laris, where he had stored
his money and supplies, telling him that he would
follow in a few days, harrying the country as he went.
91 Having thus masked his designs he proceeded to
the river Tanais. During the march he made a daily
distribution of cattle in equal proportions to the
centuries and squadrons, and had leather vessels made
out of the hides. Thus he at once made up for the
scarcity of corn and, without revealing his designs,
provided vessels which would speedily be required.
2 Finally by the sixth day when they reached the river
a large number of skins were ready. He pitched his
camp and, after throwing up light fortifications, ordered
his troops to take their meal, that they might be ready
to march on at sunset: they were to throw away their
3 packs and to load themselves and the transport animals
with water only. Then, as soon as the proper moment
arrived, he left the camp and after marching all night
called a halt. This procedure was repeated the next
day, and finally on the third day long before dawn he
4 reached a hilly place not more than two miles from
Capsa, where he waited with all his forces in a carefully
concealed position. But when day broke and the
Numidians, who had no apprehensions of attack, came
out from the town in numbers, he ordered all his
cavalry and the swiftest of his infantry to advance at top
5 speed to Capsa and seize the gates. He himself followed
swiftly and refused to allow his troops to plunder. As
soon as the townsfolk perceived what had happened, a
panic ensued; the disaster had taken them by surprise,
while the fact that part of their number were without the
6 walls forced them to surrender. The town was burned,
all the male inhabitants above fourteen years of age were
put to death, the remainder sold as slaves, and the booty
7 divided among the soldiers. This was a breach of the
laws of war, but was due not to the avarice or cruelty of
the consul, but to the fact that the place was of great
service to Jugurtha and difficult of access for ourselves,

while the inhabitants were wholly untrustworthy and amenable neither to fear nor kindness.

Marius extends his captures.

Marius' reputation was already high, but this brilliant and bloodless success made it stand higher still, and even what had in truth been rashness was given the name of skill. The soldiers, whom he had ruled with a light hand and enriched with plunder, praised him to the skies. The Numidians feared him as being more than human, while all, enemies and allies alike, believed that he was divinely inspired or at least that his successes were due to the special favour of heaven.

After this achievement the consul proceeded to other towns. In a few cases he only took them after an armed resistance, but most he found deserted owing to his treatment of the people of Capsa. These he burned and filled the whole country-side with mourning and death. Finally having obtained possession of a number of places, in most cases without losing a man, he embarked on a fresh enterprise, less formidable perhaps, but hardly less difficult than the capture of Capsa.

There was a fort on an inaccessible height near the Mulucha, where Jugurtha had stored his treasure. A Ligurian soldier by a happy accident finds a practicable way into the fort, thereby enabling Marius to capture the fort by means of a simple stratagem.

Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Iugurthae Bocchique regnum diungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura velut opere atque consulto praeceps. quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. sed ea res forte quam consilio melius gesta. nam castello virorum atque armorum satis et magna vis frumenti et fons aquae; aggeribus turribusque et altis machinationibus locus inportunus, iter castellorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum. vineae 8

cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur. nam cum eae paulo processerant, igni aut lapidibus corrumpebantur, 9 milites neque pro opere consistere propter iniquitatem loci neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare : optumus quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri.

93 at Marius multis diebus et laboribus consumptis anxius trahere cum animo suo omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere 2 usus fuerat. quae cum multos dies noctisque aestuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius castris aequatum egressus haud procul ab latere castelli, quod avorsum proeliantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentis cocleas, quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi 3 paulatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more ingeni humani 4 cupido difficilia faciundi animum vortit. et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paulum modo prona, deinde inflexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert. cuius ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus in castelli planitiem pervenit, quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus 5 aderant. exploratis omnibus quae mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur non temere, uti ascenderat, sed 6 temptans omnia et circumspiciens. itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur ab ea parte, qua ipse ascenderat, castellum temptet, pollicetur sese itineris 7 periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure promissa eius cognitum ex praesentibus misit, quorum uti cuiusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nuntiavere.

8 consulis animus tamen paulum adrectus. itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit et cum eis, praesidio qui forent, quattuor centuriones, omnisque Liguri parere iubet et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

sed ubi ex praecepto tempus visum, paratis composi- 94
tisque omnibus ad locum pergit. ceterum illi, qui
escensuri erant, praedocti ab duce arma ornatumque
mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus
nisusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii
et scuta, verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia
simul et offensa quo levius streperent. igitur praegre- 2
diens Ligus saxa et si quae vetustae radices eminebant
laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati milites facilius escen-
derent, interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu,
ubi paulo asperior ascensus erat, singulos prae se
inermos mittere, deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi,
quae dubia nisu videbantur potissimum temptare ac
saepius eadem ascendens descendensque, dein statim
digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. igitur diu mul- 3
tumque fatigati tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum
ab ea parte, quod omnes sicut aliis diebus advorsum
hostis aderant. Marius ubi ex nuntiis quae Ligus egerat
cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos proelio Numidas
habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas
egressus, testudine acta succedere et simul hostem
tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere.
at Numidae saepe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, 4
item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur,
sed pro muro dies noctisque agitare, male dicere
Romanis ac Mario vecordiam obiectare, militibus nostris
Iugurthae servitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse.
interim omnibus Romanis hostibusque proelio intentis, 5
magna utrimque vi, pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro
salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere: ac primo
mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere, deinde
uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti
armati inermesque. quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani 6
instare, fundere ac plerosque tantum modo sauciare,
dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae

certantes murum petere neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. sic forte correcta Mari temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.

Sulla arrives with a force of cavalry.

- 95 During the course of these operations Lucius Sulla the quaestor came into camp with a large force of cavalry, to collect which from among the Latins and the
 2 allies he had been left at Rome. In view of his subsequent greatness, it seems only right that I should say a few words as to his character. For I shall not have occasion to speak of his career elsewhere, and Lucius Sisenna, the best of the historians who have dealt with that period, has not, I think, spoken on the subject with sufficient frankness.

The character of Sulla. His popularity with the troops.

- 3 Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia iam prope extincta maiorum ignavia, litteris Graecis et Latinis iuxta atque doctissime eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum sed gloriae cupidior, otio luxurioso esse: tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli; facundus callidus et amicitia facilis, ad dissimulanda negotia altitudo ingeni incredibilis, multarum rerum ac maxime
 4 pecuniae largitor. atque illi, felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam super industriam fortuna fuit, multique dubitavere fortior an felicior esset. nam postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo pudeat an pigeat magis disserere.
- 96 Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Mari cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempe-
 2 statibus factus est. ad hoc milites benigne appellare, multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea properantius quam aes mutuum reddere, ipse ab nullo repetere, magis id laborare ut illi quam plurimi deberent, ioca atque seria cum humillumis

agere, in operibus in agmine atque ad vigiliis multus ³
 adesse neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis
 aut cuiusquam boni famam laedere ; tantum modo neque
 consilio neque manu priorem alium pati, plerosque
 antevenire. quibus rebus et artibus brevi Mario
 militibusque carissimus factus.

*Bocchus and Jugurtha attack Marius, but after a desperate
 struggle are defeated.*

But Jugurtha after losing Capsa and a number of ⁹⁷
 other strong places, together with a large amount
 of money, sent messengers to Bocchus urging him to
 lead his forces into Numidia with the least possible
 delay, since the time for battle was come. On learning ²
 that the Moor still hung back and was weighing the
 advantages of war and peace, he once more bribed his
 most intimate advisers and promised Bocchus himself
 a third of Numidia, if the Romans were driven from
 Africa or the war ended without loss of territory. This ³
 alluring promise was too much for Bocchus and he
 joined Jugurtha with a large army.

With their united forces they attacked Marius as
 he was setting out to take up his winter quarters,
 thinking that if they were beaten they could escape
 under cover of night which was near at hand, while in
 the event of victory the darkness would be no obstacle
 to themselves who were familiar with the country,
 whereas the Romans would be hampered in either case.
 The consul had scarcely received word from a number ⁴
 of quarters of the enemy's approach, when they were
 actually upon him. And before he could form his army
 in line of battle or collect his baggage, indeed before
 any signal or orders for battle could be given, the
 Moorish and Gaetulian cavalry swept down upon him
 in a confused mass without any regular battle forma-
 tion. Our soldiers, though shaken by the surprise, ⁵
 none the less remembered all their valour, snatched up
 their weapons and defended their comrades while they
 too made themselves ready for battle. Some mounted
 their horses and charged the enemy. The fight was
 more like an affray with robbers than a regular battle. —

Horse and foot were mingled together without standards or formation. Some gave ground, others were cut down, many were taken in the rear while gallantly resisting the attack upon their front. Valour and skill at arms were of little avail, since the enemy were superior in numbers and poured round them on every side. Finally the veteran soldiers with their long experience of war, as chance or the conformation of the ground threw them together, formed circles, and thus protected on all sides withstood the violent onslaughts
98 of the enemy. In this desperate situation Marius showed no signs of alarm or despondency, but scoured the field with his horse-guards, whom he had chosen from his friends and the bravest of his cavalry: now came to the rescue of those who were hard pressed, now charged the thickest of the foe: orders were impossible in the general confusion, and therefore he did what he could
2 for his men by his own personal gallantry. And now the day was at its close, but the barbarians did not relax their efforts and attacked with increasing fury, as their kings had bidden them, thinking that the night
3 was all in their favour. Marius thereupon to save the situation occupied two hills that were close together, thereby securing a position to which our forces might retire. On one of these hills which was too small for a camp there was a copious spring, while the other provided an excellent site, since the greater portion of it was lofty and precipitous and required but little
4 fortification. He ordered Sulla with the cavalry to pass the night by the water-side; he himself, gradually rallying his scattered troops (a task which was rendered easier by the fact that the enemy were in an equal state of confusion), he led them all in quick step to the
5 summit of the hill. The kings were now forced by the strength of his position to abandon the fight, yet they did not allow their troops to retire to a distance, but surrounded both hills and bivouacked on the spot.
6 The barbarians kindled a quantity of fires and during the greater part of the night made merry with shouts of triumph, while their leaders, emboldened by the fact that they had not been put to flight, behaved as though the victory was theirs. But all this was visible to the

Romans from the darkness of the hills and afforded them no small encouragement. Marius himself, deriving confidence from the enemy's inexperience, ordered his men to keep absolute silence and not even to sound the bugle calls for the night watches. Then as day drew near, the enemy by now being weary or asleep, suddenly the watch and with them the trumpeters of cohorts, squadrons, and legions sounded the signal for battle, while the soldiers raised their war-cry and burst from the gates of the camp. The Moors and the Gaetulians, wakened from their slumbers by the fearful and unfamiliar sound, were unable to fly or seize their weapons or do anything to save themselves. The noise and the shouting, the tumult and the terror, the charge of the Romans and their own helplessness, filled them with frenzied panic. They were driven in headlong rout: numbers of arms and standards were captured, while greater numbers of the enemy were slain than in any previous battle. For their flight was hampered by sleep and the wildness of their terror.

Marius then proceeded on his way to winter quarters. For he had determined to winter in the cities on the coast, owing to the facility with which supplies could be obtained. None the less victory rendered him neither slothful nor insolent, but he marched in hollow square as though in full presence of the enemy. Sulla with the cavalry guarded the right flank, while Aulus Manlius was stationed on the left with the slingers and archers and Ligurian cohorts. In front and rear were posted light-armed companies under the command of military tribunes. Deserters from the enemy were employed to watch the enemy's movements, as they knew the country and their loss was a matter of indifference. At the same time the consul looked into every detail, as though he had no subordinates, visited every portion of his column, praising or blaming his men according to their deserts. He was armed as for battle and full of vigilance, and insisted that his men should follow his example. The same discipline that characterized the march was also exacted in the fortification of the camp, the posting of legionary cohorts to

watch the gates and auxiliary horse to act as patrols outside, while others were placed to keep guard upon the ramparts. Marius visited the watch in person, not so much because he doubted whether his orders would be carried out, as to earn the soldiers' good will by showing that their general shared their labours. 5 Indeed on that and on other occasions in the course of the campaign Marius controlled his army not so much by punishment as by appealing to their sense of honour. Many said that he did this to serve his ambition. Others asserted that he had come to find pleasure in the hardships to which he had been inured from boyhood and in those other discomforts which the rest of the world call misery. All that I can say is that he conducted affairs with as much distinction and success as could have been obtained by the most rigorous discipline.

Battle and defeat of Jugurtha near Cirta.

101 igitur quarto denique die haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt, qua re 2 hostis adesse intellegitur. sed quia divorsi redeuntes alius ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant, consul incertus quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine conmutato advorsum omnia paratus ibidem 3 opperitur. ita Iugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quattuor partis distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus aequae 4 aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. interim Sulla, quem primum hostes attigerant, cohortatus suos turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis ipse aliique Mauros invadunt, ceteri in loco manentes ab iaculis eininus emissis corpora tegere et, siqui in manus venerant, 5 obtruncare. dum eo modo equites proeliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius eius adduxerat neque in priore pugna in itinere morati adfuerant, postremam 6 Romanorum aciem invadunt. tum Marius apud primos agebat, quod ibi Iugurtha cum plurimis erat. dein Numida cognito Bocchi adventu clam cum paucis ad

pedites convortit. ibi Latine—nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat—exclamat nostros frustra pugnare, paulo ante Marium sua manu interfectum. simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna satis impigre occiso pedite nostro cruentaverat. quod ubi milites 7 acceperere, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuntii terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere et in percussos Romanos acrius incedere. iamque paulum a fuga aberant, cum 8 Sulla, profligatis eis, quos advorsum ierat, rediens ab latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. at 9 Iugurtha, dum sustentare suos et prope iam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra sinistra omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. atque interim Marius fugatis 10 equitibus adcurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli iam acceperat. denique hostes iam undique fusi. tum spectaculum 11 horribile in campis patentibus: sequi fugere occidi capi, equi atque viri adflicti, ac multi vulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo ac statim concidere, postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis armis cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

Marius sends Sulla and Manlius to treat with Bocchus.

After this the consul, who had now won an indis- 102 putable victory, proceeded to Cirta, his original objective. Four days after the second defeat of the 2 barbarians, envoys arrived from Bocchus and asked Marius on behalf of their king to send him two of the most reliable of his officers, as he wished to discuss his own situation and the interests of the Roman people. Marius at once ordered Sulla and Aulus 3 Manlius to go. They, although they went on the invitation of the king, determined to address him with a view to winning his good will, if he was ill-disposed, or of further kindling his desire for peace, if he was that way inclined. Sulla therefore (since Manlius 4

admitted his junior's superiority as an orator) spoke briefly as follows :

5 ' We rejoice, king Bocchus, that the gods have put into your heart at length to prefer peace to war and to cease from besmirching your virtues by association with Jugurtha, the worst of living men, and therewith to remove from us the bitter necessity of chastizing
6 your errors as well as his crimes. Moreover the Roman people has ever thought it a better thing to seek friends rather than slaves, and a safer course to rule by
7 consent than to command by force. And in truth no friendship could be more welcome to you than ours, since in the first place we dwell far apart, which lessens the risk of quarrels, while the value remains the same as if we were neighbours ; and secondly, whereas we have subjects in abundance, neither we nor any man
8 has ever possessed a sufficiency of friends. Would this had been your desire from the beginning. For assuredly by now you would have received far greater benefits from the Roman people than now you have
9 suffered ills. And since the affairs of man are for the most part ruled by fortune, whose pleasure it has been that you should experience both the weight of our wrath and the fullness of our favour, now that she permits you, make haste and continue in the path on
10 which your feet are set. You have a golden opportunity to outweigh your past errors by present services.
11 Lastly, remember always that the Roman people has ever been supreme for its bounty. As to its power in war, you know that from your own experience.'

Bocchus sends envoys to Rome.

12 To this Bocchus replied in gentle and friendly terms and at the same time said a few words in excuse of his offences, to the effect that he had taken up arms
13 with no hostile intent, but merely in self-defence. For that part of Numidia from which he had expelled Jugurtha was clearly his by right of conquest : he had been unable to endure seeing it laid waste by Marius :
14 moreover, when he had in time past sent ambassadors to Rome, his offers of friendship had been rebuffed : he would not however speak of the past, and with

Marius' leave would send fresh envoys to the senate. Finally after prolonged conversations they succeeded ¹⁵ in detaching the Moor from the friends whom Jugurtha, on learning of the mission of Sulla and Manlius, had seduced by bribes in fear of the designs which were on foot.

Marius meanwhile had disposed his army in winter ¹⁰³ quarters and set forth into a desolate region with a force composed of light-armed cohorts and a portion of his cavalry, his purpose being to seize the King's Tower, which Jugurtha had garrisoned with all his Roman deserters. At the same time Bocchus, moved ² either by the memory of his two defeats or by the warning of those friends whom Jugurtha had left unbribed, chose five of his most intimate advisers on whose loyalty and understanding he could rely. These ³ he bade go to Marius and then, if he approved, to proceed to Rome. He gave them full powers to make peace on the best terms they could obtain. They set ⁴ forth at once to the Roman winter quarters, but in the course of their journey were waylaid and plundered by Gaetulian robbers, so that it was in a state of no little alarm and with a complete absence of the pomp befitting their station that they succeeded in reaching Sulla, whom Marius had left behind as pro-praetor. He ⁵ received them not as treacherous enemies, such as their appearance suggested them to be, but treated them with the utmost care and generosity, with the result that the barbarians concluded that the Roman reputation for greed must be false, and regarded Sulla as a friend on account of his munificence. For even in those days ⁶ there were many who had never heard of bribery masquerading as generosity. Munificence was conceived of solely as an expression of good will, and all gifts were regarded as proceeding from kindness of heart. Accordingly they disclosed Bocchus' instructions ⁷ to the quaestor and at the same time asked him to give them his support and advice. They extolled the resources, greatness, and good faith of their king, with such other qualities as they thought might indicate either his value or his good will to Rome. Sulla in reply promised to do all he could for them, and

having been instructed how they should address Marius and how the senate, they waited there some
 104 forty days. Marius had failed to accomplish his designs and, on his return to Cirta, was informed of the arrival of the envoys. He ordered them and Sulla to come from Utica with the praetor Lucius Billienus and all available senators. With these as his council he considered the request of Bocchus. The envoys were given permission to go to Rome. In the meantime they asked for an armistice. Sulla and the majority approved of this, but a few were for a bolder policy, knowing but little of the fickleness of things and the
 3 speed with which good fortune turns to bad. The Moors however obtained all their demands, and three of them set out for Rome accompanied by Octavius Ruso the quaestor who had brought the pay for the troops over to Africa. The other two returned to the king. From them Bocchus heard their whole story and was especially pleased at the kindness and warmth
 4 of their reception by Sulla. The ambassadors presented their petition at Rome, asking that a treaty of friendship might be accorded to the king, since he admitted the error into which he had been led by the wickedness of Jugurtha. They received the following
 5 reply: 'The senate and the Roman people have a good memory both for the benefits and injuries received. But the penitence of Bocchus atones for his offence. He shall be granted a treaty of friendship, when he has earned it.'

Bocchus asks that Sulla should be sent to him to arrange matters and sends his son Volux to escort him. On the way they fall in with Jugurtha, and Volux is suspected of treachery.

105 Quis rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario petiverat uti Sullam ad se mitteret, cuius arbitratu
 2 de communibus negotiis consuleretur. is missus cum praesidio equitum atque peditum, item funditorum Balearium. praeterea iere sagittarii et cohors Paeligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa, neque his secus atque aliis armis advorsus tela hostium, quod
 3 ea levia sunt, muniti. sed in itinere quinto denique die

Volux filius Bocchi repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit, qui temere et effuse euntes Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero et hostilem metum efficiebant. igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare, intendere; timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus et advorsum eos quos saepe vicerant. interim equites exploratum praemissi rem, uti erat, quietam nuntiant. Volux adveniens quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre Boccho obviam illis, simul et praesidio missum. deinde eum et proximum diem sine metu coniuncti eunt. post ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus incerto vultu pavens ad Sullam adcurrit dicitque sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum Iugurtham haud procul abesse; simul uti noctu clam secum profugeret rogat atque hortatur. ille animo feroci negat se totiens fusum Numidam pertimescere; virtuti suorum satis credere; etiamsi certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius quam, proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paulo morbo interiturae vitae parceret. ceterum ab eodem monitus uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium adprobat ac statim milites cenatos esse, in castris ignis quam creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi iubet. iamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, cum equites Mauri nuntiant Iugurtham circiter duum milium intervallo ante eos consedissee. quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere se proditos a Voluce et insidiis circumventos. ac fuere qui dicerent manu vindicandum neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

Sulla decides to trust Volux and reaches Bocchus safely.

Though Sulla shared their opinion, he gave the Moor his protection. He exhorted his troops to be off

a good courage, saying that a few brave men had often put up a good fight against fearful odds : the less they spared themselves in battle, the greater their hope of safety, while it was foul shame that when a man had his good sword in his hands, he should seek help from his defenceless feet and turn his blind and naked back to the foe. Then after calling on Jupiter to bear witness to the faithlessness of Bocchus, he bade Volux leave the camp, since he was there for no good purpose. Volux besought him with tears not to believe it : there was no treachery : all was due to the cunning of Jugurtha, who must have discovered his route by means of spies. 'Moreover,' he continued, 'since he has but a small force with him and all his hopes and fortunes depend on my father, I do not think he will venture on open attack in the presence of Bocchus' son. The best course will, therefore, in my opinion, be to march boldly through the midst of his camp. Send my Moors on ahead or leave them behind, and I will go with Sulla unaccompanied.' In view of the circumstances his suggestion was approved. They set out at once and passed safely by, thanks to the fact that Jugurtha had not expected them and was at a loss what to do. In the course of a few days they arrived at their destination.

Intrigues and counter-intrigues of Sulla and Jugurtha.

108 There, engaged in close parley with Bocchus, they found a certain Aspar, who had been sent thither by Jugurtha, as soon as he heard that Sulla had been asked for, that he might plead his cause and spy upon the designs of Bocchus. There was also a certain Dabar, the son of Massugrada of the house of Masinissa : though of less good descent on the mother's side, he was a favourite of the Moor to whom his many good qualities had endeared him. Bocchus having often found him a loyal friend to Rome, sent him at once to Sulla to inform him that he was ready to do what the Roman people desired, and to bid him choose the day, place, and hour for a parley. 'I am,' he said, 'keeping strictly to the terms of our previous agreement. You need have no fears of Jugurtha's envoy,

whom I have only received to enable us to concert our plans with greater freedom: otherwise it would have been impossible for us to baffle his designs.' My information, however, leads me to believe that the motives of Bocchus were not what he alleged, but that he was acting with a bad faith worthy of a Carthaginian and kept both the Roman and Numidian in suspense by holding out hopes of peace to both, while he pondered in his own heart whether to deliver Jugurtha to the Romans or Sulla to Jugurtha. His desires spoke against us and his fears for us.

Sulla replied that he would say but a few words in Aspar's presence, the rest must be reserved for a secret parley between himself and the king, or, if others were admitted, they must be as few in numbers as possible: at the same time he instructed him as to the reply which his proposals required. The meeting took place as Sulla had desired. He stated that the consul had sent him to ask whether the king meant peace or war. Bocchus, as had been prearranged, bade him return in nine days; at present he had not made up his mind, but would give his reply then. Both parties therefore retired to their camps. But when the night was far spent, Bocchus sent secretly for Sulla; they met alone save for the presence of trustworthy interpreters and Dabar, whose high character made him acceptable to both. Without more ado the king began as follows:

Speech of Bocchus.

'Never did I think that I, the greatest king of this land and of all kings within my knowledge, should find myself in the debt of a private individual. And in good truth before I knew you, Sulla, I was never in want of any man's help, though I have of my own will helped not a few of the many that have appealed to me. Others may grieve at such loss of dignity, but I rejoice. My present need is but the price that I must pay for your friendship, than which I rate nothing more highly. And of this you shall have proof. Arms, men, money, whatever you desire, are yours. Take them, use them, and, while life is in you, never think that you have been

paid in full. My gratitude is inexhaustible, and with
 5 my knowledge you shall never ask aught in vain. For,
 to my thinking, it is less disgrace that a king should be
 vanquished by force of arms than that he should be
 6 outdone in generosity. For the rest, as concerns your
 mission of state, here is my answer, and it is brief. I
 have never made or wished to make war against the
 Roman people. I have but protected my frontiers
 7 against armed invasion. And since you desire it, I
 8 will cease even from that. Fight Jugurtha, as you will.
 I will not pass the river Mulucha, which was the
 boundary between myself and Micipsa, nor will I suffer
 Jugurtha to cross it. Further, if you seek aught worthy
 both of myself and you, you shall not be sent empty
 away.'

Sulla demands the surrender of Jugurtha.

111 Sulla in reply spoke briefly and modestly of himself,
 112 but discoursed at length on the question of peace and
 their common interests. Finally he disclosed the fact
 that the senate and the Roman people, being victorious
 in the field, would not be satisfied by empty promises.
 He must do something that would be regarded as more
 to their advantage than his own. This was an easy
 task, since Jugurtha was in his power. If he delivered
 Jugurtha into their hands, they would owe him a deep
 debt. He would then get the treaty of friendship
 2 which he desired and that portion of Numidia to which
 he laid claim. The king at first refused, pleading the
 ties of kinship and alliance, and further expressing the
 fear that if he played the traitor he would forfeit the
 affections of his people, who loved Jugurtha and hated
 Rome. But finally after much pressure he yielded, and
 3 promised to do all that Sulla desired. For the rest
 they agreed to make a pretence of concluding peace, of
 which the war-weary Jugurtha was most desirous, and
 parted company. On the next day the king summoned
 Aspar, Jugurtha's envoy and said that he had learned
 from Sulla through the agency of Dabar that peace
 might be had on terms. He therefore bade him sound
 2 his master on the subject. Aspar set out overjoyed for
 Jugurtha's camp and, after receiving full instructions

from him, succeeded in returning to Bocchus within the short space of seven days. He informed him that Jugurtha was ready to do all that might be demanded of him, but that he distrusted Marius: he had frequently come to terms with Roman generals, but always in vain: but if Bocchus wished to promote the interests of both and desired a genuine peace, he must arrange for all parties to meet on the pretext of a peace conference, at which he must deliver Sulla into his hands: with such a man in his power, the senate or people would soon come to terms; for they would never leave a man of noble birth in the clutches of the enemy, when he had been captured through no fault of his own, but in the service of the state.

After much hesitation Bocchus decides to betray Jugurtha. He is delivered to Sulla and taken to Marius. Meanwhile Roman arms have met with disaster in Gaul and Marius is chosen consul for the second time. He returns to Rome and celebrates his triumph.

haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem pro- 113
 misit, ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus parum con-
 perimus. sed plerumque regiae voluntates ut vehe-
 mentes sic mobiles, saepe ipsae sibi advorsae. postea
 tempore et loco constituto in colloquium uti de pace 2
 veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Iugurthae lega-
 tum appellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri.
 illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae pleni esse. sed nocte
 ea, quae proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, 3
 Maurus adhibitis amicis ac statim immutata voluntate
 remotis dicitur secum ipse multum agitavisse, voltu et
 oculis pariter atque animo varius: quae scilicet tacente
 ipso occulta pectoris patefecisse. tamen postremo 4
 Sullam accersi iubet et ex illius sententia Numidae
 insidias tendit. deinde ubi dies advenit et ei nuntiatum 5
 est Iugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis
 et quaestore nostro quasi obviis honoris causa procedit
 in tumultum facillum visu insidiantibus. eodem

- 6 Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat, adcedit ac statim signo dato undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. ceteri obtruncati, Iugurtha Sullae victus traditur et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.
- 114 Per idem tempus adversum Gallos ab ducibus nostris
- 2 Q. Caepione et Cn. Manlio male pugnatum. quo metu Italia omnis contremuit. illimque usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habuere, alia omnia virtuti suae
- 3 prona esse, cum Gallis pro salute non pro gloria certari. sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum et Iugurtham Romam victum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius consul absens factus est et ei decreta provincia Gallia isque Kalendis Ianuariis magna gloria consul
- 4 triumphavit. et ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.

THE ROMAN MAGISTRACIES MENTIONED BY SALLUST

The duties of the two *consuls* were to command the Roman armies in the field, to conduct the more important elections, to preside over the senate and enforce its orders. By the Sempronian law their duties were allotted before election. One or both consuls might be sent to command the armies of Rome either in a province or in Italy. Ex-consuls might govern provinces or command armies as proconsuls.

The two *praetors* resident at Rome were the chief judicial authorities. The remaining praetors governed provinces, as also did propraetors, where the supply of praetors was not enough to go round.

The two *quaestors* resident at Rome were in charge of the treasury. Consuls in the field and provincial governors also each had their quaestor whose primary duties were financial. But he might be appointed by his chief to perform practically any administrative or military duties.

The ten *tribunes of the plebs* had as their especial duty the protection of the interests of the plebs against all and sundry. Their persons were inviolable, they could veto the resolutions of the senate or the intended acts of a magistrate, and could summon assemblies of the people.

The elections of these magistrates were as a rule held about six months before they entered on office at the beginning of the year.

The senate was composed of magistrates and ex-magistrates, entry to the senate being given by election to the quaestorship.

THE ROMAN ARMY

There was no standing army. Troops were specially raised for particular service by annual levies, and were drawn from (a) citizens, (b) non-citizens.

(a) The citizen infantry was organized in legions. Each legion consisted of 4,200 men, made up as follows :

1,200 *hastati* (young men, front line), 1,200 *principes* (men in prime of life, second line), 600 *triarii* (veterans, third line), thus forming a triple line of battle; the total was completed by 1,200 *velites*, light-armed skirmishers. Each of the three lines was divided into ten maniples, each composed of two centuries, the century containing 60 men in *hastati* and *principes*, 30 in *triarii*. The cohort consisted of three maniples, one from each line. The legion was officered by six military tribunes, generally young men of noble birth, each of whom commanded in turn, and 60 centurions, roughly corresponding to senior N.C.O.s and forming the backbone of the legion. The *hastati* and *principes* were armed with the *pilum*, or heavy javelin, the *triarii* with the *hasta* or thrusting spear. All carried the short sword and the oblong shield. The *velites* of whom 20 were attached to each century, were armed with short sword, light javelins, leather helmet, and round buckler.

To the legion was attached a force of 300 cavalry organized in ten *turmae* or squadrons of 30 men. The citizen cavalry was, however, little if at all used at this period, and Rome went to the Latins and Italian allies or to foreign races for her horsemen.

Pay amounted to 120 denarii (£4 2s. 6d.) per annum for the common soldier, 240 denarii for the centurion.

(b) Non-citizen troops were drawn (i) from the Latins and allies, (ii) from foreign races. (i) About 10,000 allied infantry and 1,800 cavalry would be attached to a force of two legions and formed the wings of the line of battle. They were commanded by *praefecti* appointed by the consul. (ii) The *auxilia* or *auxiliares* were foreign mercenaries, serving as cavalry or light-armed infantry, archers and slingers.

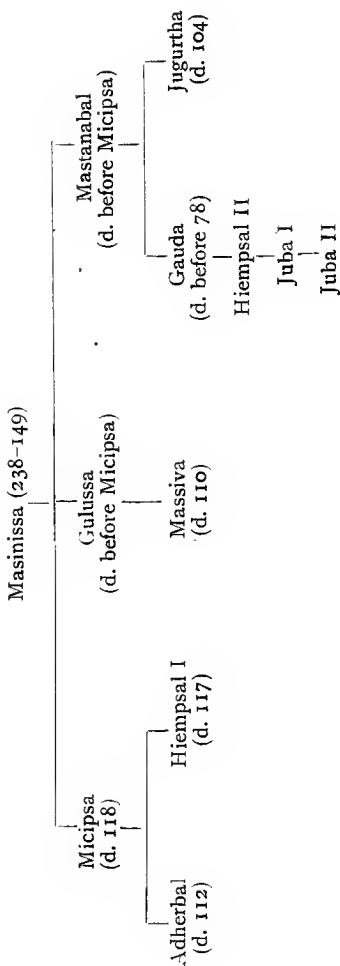
CHRONOLOGY OF THE JUGURTHINE WAR

The following table is probably not far from the truth, but it is impossible to determine the sequence of events with absolute certainty :

B. C.

- 133 Jugurtha returns from the Numantine war in Spain.
- 118 Death of Micipsa and division of the kingdom.
- 117 Murder of Hiempsal.
- 116 Adherbal driven from Africa appeals to the senate.
- 114 Jugurtha attacks Adherbal.
- 113 Adherbal besieged in Cirta sends envoys to Rome.
- 112 Fall of Cirta and murder of Adherbal. War declared by Rome.
- 111 Bestia comes to terms with Jugurtha.
- 110 Jugurtha at Rome. On his return Albinus renews war.
- 109 Defeat of Aulus. Metellus assumes command. Battle near Muthul.
- 108 Metellus besieges Zama. Jugurtha offers surrender, but breaks off negotiations. Massacre of Vaga.
- 107 Death of Bomilcar. Capture of Thala. Jugurtha secures help of Bocchus. Marius now consul supersedes Metellus. Capture of Capsa.
- 106 Capture of rock fortress near Mulucha. Two great defeats of Jugurtha.
- 105 Sulla's mission to Bocchus. Surrender of Jugurtha.
- 104 Triumph and second consulship of Marius. Execution of Jugurtha.

GENEALOGY OF KINGS OF NUMIDIA



NOTES

1-4. See *Introd.*, p. 5.

4. 4. Sallust had moved in politics in stirring times and in the company of great men, who for all their greatness had to struggle hard to secure success (e.g. Cato had failed to get elected praetor in 55). He has a real or affected scorn for the politics of the period following Caesar's death, more especially for what he regards as the degradation of the senate by the admission of Gauls and other provincials by Caesar and Antony.

5. **Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator** and **Publius Scipio Africanus Maior**: the two great heroes of the second Punic war.

7. **commoners**. The Latin is *novi homines*, 'new men', i.e. men of undistinguished family, whose members had never previously held public office.

5. 1-2. The struggle which ended in the rise of Marius to power was but the beginning of a series of devastating civil wars (Sulla and Marius 88-82; Lepidus 77; Catiline 63; Caesar and Pompeians 49-45; to make no mention of the civil wars following Caesar's death, of which Sallust did not see the conclusion).

4. **Hannibal's** operations in Italy extend from 218-203.

Syphax, king of West Numidia, as the ally of Rome fought and defeated Masinissa, king of East Numidia in 213, but later went over to Carthage. On Scipio's arrival in Africa in 204, Masinissa joined the Romans and recovered his dominions by helping to defeat and capture Syphax in 203. He ruled the whole of Numidia till his death in 149. He was an enlightened monarch as well as a great ruler.

6. Micipsa was a skilful and intelligent monarch, who kept peace in Africa during his long reign (see also *Introd.*, p. 13).

6. 1. **decora facie**: abl. quality, not dependent on *pollens*. **luxu**: dative in *-u*, a form preferred by some authors to that in *-ui*. The datives are governed by *dedit*, not *corrumpendum*. **equitare** and the following infinitives are *historic* and equivalent in sense to the vivid present.

2. **virtutem**. A wider term than our 'virtue'. Here = 'great qualities'. **gloriae**: predicative dative, 'would be a glory'. **parvis liberis** (Hiempsal and Adherbal): abl. abs. without a verb, there being no participle of *sum*.

3. **interfecisset . . . oriretur**. The pluperfect is used because the *murder* would precede the *outbreak* of rebellion, and is therefore one step further back in point of time.

7. 1. **popularibus** : dat. after *acceptum*, here = *carum*. *popularis*, the adj. of *populus*, is here used as a noun = countrymen.

2. **Numantino**. Numantia on the upper Douro in Spain revolted against Rome in 143, and was not captured till 133, when Scipio Africanus Minor starved it out.

4. **impigro . . . ingenio** : abl. quality. 5. **alterum . . . alterum**. The first *alterum* refers to the quality implied by *bonus consilio*, the second to that implied by *proelio strenuus*. 'The latter quality usually leads from prudence to timidity, the former from daring to rashness.'

6. **quippe cuius**. *quippe* = 'certainly', 'for in fact', and is used to strengthen the relative, giving it the sense of 'since he, as one who'. It is generally followed by the subjunctive, but Sallust prefers the indicative.

8. 2. **auxiliary forces**, Lat. *auxilia* : a term used to describe non-citizen troops, the infantry organized in cohorts and generally lightly armed, the cavalry in *alae*.

9. 2. This letter must not be regarded as a copy of the original. Here, as in his speeches, Sallust gives in his own style and language a paraphrase of what was actually said or what he thinks likely to have been said. His methods are those of a dramatist or novelist.

4. **A few years later**. Perhaps 15-18 years later, as Micipsa died in 118. A good example of Sallust's indifference to exact chronology.

10. This speech may be regarded as a dramatic or rhetorical exercise on the theme of a dying father addressing his adopted son. See n. on 9. 2.

11. 1. **pro tempore**, 'as the occasion demanded'; *pro* = 'in proportion to', 'in accordance with'.

2. **post** is adverbial. Lit. 'by a few days after'. **iusta** (lit. 'things just and due') : a regular phrase for funeral rites. **more regio** : probably under a huge grave mound, faced with stone steps, like the two great mounds known as the Madrassen (near Batna) and the Tombeau de la Chrétienne (near Cherchel), which are believed to be the tombs of Masinissa and Juba II.

3. **ferox** never means 'fierce' in the sense of 'savage', but 'bold', 'impetuous'. **adsedit** : governing acc., a rare construction. **honori** : predicative dat.

5. **quinquenni** : the last five years of Micipsa's reign.

8. **caperetur** : subj. of purpose after *quibus*.

12. 1. **singulis**, 'for each'.

3. **Thirmida** : locality unknown. **proximus liotor** : *liotor* is a purely Roman term for the official attendants of the consuls and other magistrates, but is here transferred to the body-servants of the king. He is called *proximus*, because in processions the chief liotor walked next his master. **referebantur** : were given into Hiempsal's keeping each night.

5. **quo**, 'whither'; **initio**, 'at the beginning'.

14. Adherbal's speech is like others, a dramatic invention. It is not certain if he spoke Latin, which Jugurtha (see 101. 6.) only learned in Spain.

15. 1. **respondent**. The sentence which follows is in *or. obl.* and in past sequence because the vivid historic present *respondent* is regarded as substitute for a past tense. **paucis**: supply *verbis*. **superatus sit**: equivalent to *superatus est* in direct speech. By strictest rule, the sequence being past, this should be *superatus esset*, but disregard of this rule is not uncommon in historians. **Numantiae**: locative.

4. **Aemilius Scaurus** (see c. 25): the leading conservative statesman of the day, consul in 115. Sallust's portrait of him is probably coloured by party views. Cicero speaks of him as the model of all the virtues and says that 'the world was almost ruled by his nod'. But he also records the fact that he was attacked by his contemporaries for the vices mentioned here, and there can be no question that he acquired a vast fortune in the course of his political career. 5. **famosam**: generally as here in a bad sense, 'notorious'.

16. 2. **L. Opimius**: a strong aristocrat, consul in 121, when he led the forces of the aristocracy against Gracchus.

3. **fide**: a rare contracted form of the dat. *fidei*.

17-19. See *Introd.* p. 10. **Hercules**: see note on *Hercules Libys* (89. 4).

Hippo: now Bizerta, north-west of Carthage. **Hadrumetum**: on coast south of Carthage (now Susa). **Leptis**: the lesser of that name (now Lemta) south-east of Hadrumetum.

20. Jugurtha's attack on Adherbal did not take place till some time had elapsed. See chronological table.

3. **mortalis**: frequently used by Sallust = *homines*, an old and by now poetic usage.

6. **animo**, 'in anticipation'.

21. 1. **eo processum**, 'that things had gone so far'. **Cirta**, the modern Constantine in East Algeria, is situated on a high plateau some 50 miles from the coast. Its position is superb. It stands on a peninsular of rock; north the cliff falls sheer to the plain: east and south it is surrounded by the Rummel, which flows at the bottom of a narrow gorge, whose walls at their highest rise 500 feet above the river-bed: on the west there is a narrow isthmus connecting it with the surrounding country, and it is on this side only that it can be attacked, though it is possible that even in the days of Jugurtha the gorge was crossed by a narrow bridge at the point where the Romans built the bridge of which the ruins still survive. It was the royal capital, had been adorned and enlarged by Micipsa, and could put 30,000 men in the field. The rampart and ditch mentioned in 23. I must have been built across the isthmus.

2. **extremum . . . plerumque.** The neuter adj. is used as a noun = 'end' and 'greater part'.

togatorum, 'wearers of the toga', i. e. Romans and Italians who had settled there for purposes of trade; later described as *Italici*. **moenibus,** 'from the walls'.

3. **vineis,** 'penthouses', wooden shelters, used to protect troops employed on works near the walls. **turribus:** wooden towers on wheels, pushed up to the walls to allow the besiegers to shoot into the town or scale the walls by means of gangways. **tempus,** 'time of arrival'.

4. **adulescentes:** used contemptuously: they were inexperienced and irresponsible. **velle et censere:** supply *se* as subject. *velle* is commonly used of the resolutions of the people, *censere* of those of the senate.

23. 1. See n. on 21. 1.

24. 2. **oratum:** supine denoting purpose.

3. **ferro an fame.** No interrogative conjunction is used to introduce the indirect question: the omission is not uncommon: *ferrone an fame* would be the full phrase.

4. **parum** used substantivally with the gen., 'too little of'.

5. **nisi tamen:** a compressed expression for *nisi tamen addo*, 'unless I add that'; *tamen* refers back to *dehortatur scribere*: 'it is useless to write, but I might add'. **supra quam ego sum petere.** Supply *aliquid* as object: 'aims at something higher than myself'.

6. **fuerint:** jussive subj. 'grant that they were'.

7. **quanti fecerit,** 'at what a price he rates'. Gen. of price, as in *parvi, pluris facere* found elsewhere.

9. **forent.** *velle* is followed either by acc. and infin. or subj. as here. **antea:** i. e. in c. 14.

10. **ostentui:** predicative dat.; lit. = 'be for the exhibition of'. Tr. 'serve to display'.

25. 1. **censerent:** consecutive subj. after *qui*; lit. 'there were some such as to vote'. Supply *esse* with *mittendum* and *subveniendum*.

4. **amplis honoribus usi,** 'who had held high office': *honor* is regularly used in the sense of 'office of state'; e. g. an official career is *cursus honorum*. **consularis,** 'of consular rank', i. e. one who has filled the office of consul, as Scaurus had done in 115. **senatus princeps,** 'first on the roll of the senate', an honorary position, conferred on him as the most distinguished statesman of the day.

5. **in invidia erat,** 'was unpopular', 'aroused indignation'. **Uticam:** acc. expressing motion towards after *adpulsi*, the preposition *ad* being omitted before the name of a town. Tr. 'put in at Utica'. Utica, capital of Africa, was a port some 20 miles north-west of Carthage, now deserted by the sea. **adpulsi:** not 'driven in to', but 'putting in at', being

used in this special sense as if it were a deponent. **provinciam**: Africa.

7. **iram . . . paruisset**, 'what the anger of the senate would be, if he should be found to have disobeyed'.

10. **ut**: explanatory of *quod intenderat*; 'namely that'.

11. **senati**: an old and rare genitive for the ordinary *senatus*, which is also used by Sallust. **desisteret**: subj. because it is the reason alleged by the senate.

26. 2. **eosdem**: the *Italici* (see n. on 21. 2).

27. 2. **Gaius Memmius** appears later to have changed sides, as in 100, when candidate for the consulship, he was killed in a street-fight by the demagogue tribune Saturninus.

3. the **Sempronian law**, passed by the younger Gracchus in 123, provided that the spheres of action (*provinciae*) for the incoming consuls should be allotted before the election. When the consuls were elected, these *provinciae* were assigned, nominally at any rate, by lot.

28. 4. **his own offences**. He hoped to make money out of his command and selected suitable subordinates to act as his accomplices and protectors. See n. on c. 29.

6. **Rhegium**: the modern Reggio on the straits of Messina.

7. This section contains all that we are told of this campaign. Its successes counted for little in a country so vast as Numidia.

29. How far these allegations against Scarus and Bestia were more than the slanders of the popular party, it is hard to say. There was much to be said for a negotiated peace, despite the outrageous conduct of Jugurtha. War meant not one campaign, but many, in a difficult country of great extent against a master of guerilla warfare. The indignation with which the news was received at Rome was due primarily to the feeling that the national honour was compromised by coming to terms with the arch-villain they had set out to punish. This feeling was further aggravated by the allegations of bribery against Bestia, Scarus, and other nobles. It is worth noting that Bestia was subsequently condemned by the Mamilian commission (c. 40) on this very charge, while Scarus was one of the three judges.

4. **Vaga**: the modern Bedja in Tunisia, due west of Carthage, close to the frontier.

5. **without reference to the conditions in detail**. The details of the surrender were not discussed and voted on. The council voted 'Yes' or 'No' on the question of Jugurtha's surrender, pure and simple.

30. 1. **the senate most uneasy**. They might well be, for not only did they fear that Bestia's action might impair their prestige, but war was threatened both in Thrace and, more serious still, in Gaul where the invasion of the Cimbri was causing anxiety.

4. **the eloquence of Memmius** is not rated high by Cicero,

though he grants that he was bitter and forcible as an accuser. **give at length**: not however in his own words. What follows is Sallust's own composition, as the style shows, though it may be based on some record of the actual speech.

31. i. a vobis: a concise expression for 'from defending your interest'. **ni... superet**. The main clause of this conditional sentence is suppressed; some such phrase as 'and I should desist from so doing' must be supplied. But the brevity of the Latin can be preserved by translating, 'but my love for the common weal conquers all obstacles'. **opes factionis, patientia, ius** are in apposition with *multa* and subjects of *dehortantur*. **ius nullum = quod ius nullum est**, 'the fact that justice is disregarded and that innocence gets more danger than honour as its reward' **innocentiae**: dative.

2. quindecim takes us back to 126, midway between the deaths of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, to which reference is made later. **ludibrio**: predicative dative. **ut**, 'how'. **ab**, 'as a result of'. In prose cause is usually expressed by the simple abl.; but this use of *ab* is occasionally found.

3. obnoxiiis inimicis: abl. absolute; *obnoxius* lit. means 'liable to hurt, or punishment'. Tr. 'when your enemies are embarrassed by their guilt'. It does not mean 'obnoxious' and is generally used with the dat. = 'liable to', 'beholden to'.

5. ob rem, 'with effect'. **6. secessione**. A 'secession' or withdrawal of the common people from the state had taken place on three occasions (494, 449, 287). The form which it took was that the people assembled on some hill in the neighbourhood of Rome and threatened to leave a community in which their rights found no recognition.

7. Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the plebs, was killed in a riot by Scipio Nasica in 133. He had incurred the hatred of the nobles by proposals to reinforce the limit to the amount of land allowed to be held by one citizen, and to distribute the land thus acquired as small holdings. But the immediate cause of the struggle which resulted in his death was his illegal deposition of his colleague Marcus Octavius, who had vetoed his proposals, and his attempt to get himself re-elected tribune for the ensuing year.

parare, 'aim at'.

quaestiones, 'courts of inquiry'; an extraordinary commission was appointed after the death of Tiberius Gracchus to try his adherents on the charge of high treason. **Gaius Gracchus** as tribune in 123 had carried a number of laws striking at the power of the senate, among them proposals to establish various colonies in Italy and also at Carthage. Gracchus was one of the commissioners for the founding of these colonies. In 121 it was proposed to prohibit the founding of a colony at Carthage. Gracchus and Fulvius opposed this proposal.

A riot followed and Gracchus and Fulvius occupied the Aventine with their supporters. L. Opimius led the senate in arms to the attack, Gracchus and Fulvius were both killed, and 3,000 of their followers executed.

8. *fuërit*, 'but be it granted that to restore to the people what was its own by right was an attempt to establish a monarchy'; *fuërit* and *factum sit* are both subj. of command: 'let it have been'. *ulcisci*: here used as a passive not as a deponent. *nequitur*: this impersonal use of the passive of *nequeo* with the passive infin. is an old usage, practically obsolete by the time of Sallust.

9. *æpilari*, 'pillage', a strong expression for 'peculation'. *paucis nobilibus*, 'for the benefit of a few nobles'.

10. *per ora vostra*, 'before your faces'. *sacerdotia*: i. e. as *pontifices*, *augurs*, *quindecimviri*, or *Epulones*. *honor non prædæ*: predicative datives: 'as though they regarded them as an honour conferred, not as spoils taken by force'.

11. *in imperio*, 'in power', i. e. as a sovereign people.

12. *cruentis . . . avaritia*: abl. expressing quality. *quæstui*: predicative dative, 'a means of profit'.

13. *tribunos plebis*: e. g. as Tiberius Gracchus. The person of a tribune was sacrosanct, i. e. inviolable. *quæstiones*: see n. on 7. *occidisse, fecisse*: objects of *habent*.

14. *quam . . . tam*. Lit. as each man has acted most wickedly, so he is most safe. 'The safety of each evildoer is proportionate to the magnitude of his crimes.' *metum transtulere*: lit. they have transferred their fears from their own crime to your cowardice. 'The fears which their crime should have wakened in themselves have been transferred to your cowardly shoulders.' *cupere, odisse, metuere*: subjects of *coegit*. 'The fact that they desire the same things &c. has given them unity.'

15. *haec*, 'this union'. The neuter *hoc* is attracted into the gender of *amicitia*.

16. *beneficia vostra*, 'the benefits which you confer', i. e. the magistracies.

17. *bis . . . Aventinum*. See n. on 6. The first 'secession' to the Aventine took place in 449. The second is the occupation of the Aventine by Gaius Gracchus in 121 (see n. on 7), which is, however, not generally ranked among the *secessiones plebis*.

19. *dediticius*: technical term for an enemy who has surrendered.

21. *in perniciem casura esset*, 'would turn to your destruction'.

22. *quantum . . . habent*: Tr. as a parenthesis, 'Such is their insolence!' *per manus*, 'by force'.

26. *vindicatum*: supply *erit*.

27. *perditum*: supine expressing purpose.

28. *ubi negligas*: subj. because *ubi* here is virtually = *si*, 'if you should treat him with neglect'. *ubi*, 'when', takes the indic.

32. 1. **Lucius Cassius Longinus**: later consul with Marius in 107.

the evidence of the king. It is most unlikely that he was invited to come to give evidence against his accomplices, though no doubt there were persons who hoped he might be induced to do so. But the actual pretext for his presence must have been further negotiations with a view to peace. The agreement made by Bestia was not valid until ratified by people and senate.

34. **Baebius**, whether bribed or not, behaved like an honest Roman. The attempt of Memmius to blacken the character of his opponents by evidence extorted from a protected prince in the presence of a howling mob was scandalously unfair and unseemly.

35. 2. **Spurius Postumius Albinus** was to command in Numidia. The possession of a rival native claimant to the throne, such as Massiva, would have been of enormous value to him in his campaign.

7. **Bomilcar** was not a Roman subject and was clearly included under the safe-conduct given to his master. The only legal course would have been to hand him over to Jugurtha for judgement.

36. 3. These rumours were probably exaggerated, if not false. The nature of the war was such that Albinus had every reason to wish to avoid a long and serious campaign. His return to preside at the elections was necessitated by the fact that the other consul, **Quintus Minucius Rufus**, was making war in Thrace.

37. 2. Re-election was only permitted if the number of candidates fell short of the number of places to be filled. The party which desired the re-election of the tribune might, however, by withdrawing candidates at the last moment produce the conditions necessary to render re-election legal.

3. **Suthul** on the river **Ubus** (now **Seybouse**), 40 miles from the sea, and near **Calama** (**El Guelma**).

4. a mound: i. e. the *agger*, an inclined plane to the summit of the wall.

38. 1. *missitare*, *ductare*: frequentatives, 'kept sending', 'kept leading'.

4. *intempesta nocte*, 'at dead of night'. The ordinary meaning of *intempesta* is 'untimely', 'unseasonable', hence *intempesta nox* may mean 'the night in which no man can work'. Another view is that it means 'timeless night', i. e. when no exact account is taken of the passage of time.

6. *primi pili*, 'of the first maniple of the triarii', whose maniples were called *pili*; see p. 104. *tertiaë*. The legions were numbered merely for the campaign, and had no permanent numbers till the establishment of a standing army under the empire. *ea*, 'by that way', 'at that point'.

8. *remorata*: neuter plural, though referring to the two feminine subjects *nox* and *praeda*.

9. *sub iugum*: a Roman not Numidian custom, with which however Jugurtha must have been familiar from service in the Roman army. The 'yoke' was made of three spears (two upright, with third as cross-bar) and the defeated army marched under it. The Roman army thus humiliated amounted to 40,000.

10. *mutabantur*, 'were taken in exchange for the fear of death'.

39. 1. *insolita rerum bellicarum*, 'unaccustomed to military matters'; a rare construction, peculiar to Sallust, perhaps imitated from a similar constr. in Greek, but probably merely an extension of the gen. after adj. of knowledge or ignorance.

2. *consul Albinus*. His year of office having expired he was acting as proconsul till such time as his successor should be appointed:

nomine Latino: the regular phrase for communities enjoying the Latin rights. The cities of Latium were Rome's earliest allies and had mostly received full citizenship, but there were Latin colonies as well, which possessed certain privileges, but had no power of voting. *sociis*: allied states, liable to provide contingents for military service; their privileges and liabilities varied according to the terms of their treaty. *auxilia*: i. e. foreign troops.

3. *nullum . . . foedus fieri*. Without the consent of the senate and people no treaty was valid. But it had been the practice in cases where the treaty was repudiated to hand over the general responsible for the agreement as a prisoner. We are not told why this was not done with Aulus.

4. *impeditus a tribunis*. No reason for this act is given. Probably the main purpose was to embarrass the aristocracy, but they might also plead that they were reserving the troops for a more competent successor.

5. *ex copia rerum*, 'with the means at his disposal'.

40. The Mamilian commission was not appointed because no tribunals existed under which such offences could be tried, but because it was desired to inflict more severe penalties than could be imposed under existing laws, and probably also to secure greater expedition than was possible in the more formal courts of law.

2. *the Latins and Italian allies*: probably persons having commercial interests in Numidia. But their political power was so small that it is hard to see what assistance they could have rendered.

4. *Scaurus'* appointment as judge may have been really a splendid testimonial to his character (see n. on 15. 4). But Bestia (whose counsellor he had been) was condemned by the commission, as were Albinus and Opimius.

41. On this digression see *Introd.*, p. 14.

42. **forefathers.** Publius Scipio Africanus Maior was their grandfather, while their father had served with great distinction in Spain and Sardinia. **the Latins and the allies:** i. e. such of them as had appropriated portions of the public lands and were threatened with eviction by Gracchus' proposals for the re-distribution of lands among small holders (see n. on 31. 7). The Roman knights are here represented as being hostile to Gracchus on the ground that their interests as the financier class at Rome were identical with those of the governing class (e. g. they would exploit the provinces jointly with the senatorial officials). But as a matter of fact the legislation of both Gracchi strongly favoured the knights and did much to increase their importance (e. g. by admitting them to serve on juries as a counterpoise to the influence of senatorial jurors).

43. 1. **Quintus Caecilius Metellus**, later surnamed Numidicus, came of a family whose members were said by the poet Naevius to become consuls by a law of fate. The father, a brother, uncle, and four cousins of this Metellus had all been consuls. His influence was second only to that of Scaurus and, unlike Scaurus, he was regarded as above suspicion.

4. **kings.** Dependent princes on the frontiers of the Roman empire.

44. 3. **aestivorum**, 'summer operations'. **comitiorum mora:** see 37. 2.

4. **stativis castris:** camps occupied for a long period together, contrasted e. g. with those of 45. 2. Later the phrase comes to be used of permanent camps, like our Aldershot or the Curragh.

5. **frumentum publice datum:** their monthly ration of corn, the value of which was deducted from their pay. They were too slack to bake their own bread.

in dies, 'to meet their daily needs'.

45. 1. **comperior.** Here and in 108. 3 Sallust uses the old deponent form. Elsewhere like other authors he uses the active *comperio*. **moderatum** = *moderatum est* (passive impersonal), 'was the happy mean maintained'.

2. **sustulisse . . . statuisse.** Or. obl. after *comperior*. *ceteris . . . statuisse*, 'strictly checked all other abuses'; **arte** is adv. from *artus*. **frequentes**, 'in full force'.

46. 7. **light-armed cohorts:** from the auxiliary troops as opposed to the *heavy-armed* legionaries. **cavalry:** distinguished from the auxiliary horse upon the flanks, and therefore probably Roman knights.

48. 3. The Muthul cannot be certainly identified. Some think it to be the Ubus (Seybouse), others the Mellag, a tributary of the Medjerda (Bagraidas). The first view makes the battle take place in the neighbourhood of Hippo Regius (Bone), the second near Sicca (El Kaf). Wherever the site, the plan of Jugurtha is clear enough. Metellus was to descend upon the

waterless plain that sloped down to the river, where he would be caught between the forces of Jugurtha and Bomilcar. Metellus parried this design to some extent by re-forming his troops for battle and sending on Rutilius to seize a position on the river's edge.

49. 1. *transverso itinere*, 'at right angles', i. e. to the main range.

2. *turmas, manipulos*: Roman terms loosely applied to the formations of the Numidian army. *monet*, etc. In the or. obl. which follows, past and present (vivid) sequence are both used without distinction. *ab imperatore*: supply *provideri*.

5. *conspioatur*: passive from the old form *conspico* ('see'). *conspicor* is almost always deponent elsewhere. *incerti*: passive, not, as usual, active; lit. undefined as to what they might be. *obscurati*: agreeing both with *ipsi* and *signa*, the neuter being included in the masculine.

49. 6. The enemy were on M.'s right flank. He halted his column and re-formed it in line of battle facing to the right of his previous direction. The formation was the usual triple line (see p. 104). The enemy did not attack and M. by giving the order 'Left turn', or perhaps 'Maniples, left wheel', turned his line of battle into a column of march once more. They marched on, the cavalry of the left wing now leading (under Metellus' command), followed by the main body, the triple line of legionaries, while the rear-guard was formed by the cavalry of the right wing. The whole force by being given a 'Right turn', or 'Maniples, right wheel', would be in line of battle again. Marius' position is not clear. He is 'in rear of the main body'. This may mean that he was in rear of the triple line when formed in line of battle, or that he marched behind them when in column.

50. *Rutilius*: probably the Rutilius who was consul in 105. He wrote his memoirs in Greek, and Sallust may have drawn on them for his description of this campaign.

52. 3. The four legionary cohorts attacked up hill and scattered the Numidian infantry who had withdrawn to the heights (51.3).

52. 5. Bomilcar had been posted on the hill to block the advance of Metellus. Rutilius' march on the river altered the situation. He now had to keep Rutilius from giving assistance to Metellus. At first he adopted a waiting attitude, till his scouts had discovered Rutilius' purpose. Then he extended his line with a view to enveloping Rutilius and advanced upon his camp.

53. 5. *opinione*: abl. of comparison after *amplius*, 'longer than was expected'.

7. *ni . . . exploravissent*: the main clause of this conditional sentence is suppressed, i. e. 'and indeed such a disaster would have occurred, had not a reconnaissance been made', &c.

8. *sese habent*: practically = *sunt*.

54. 1. **quadriduo**: abl. of time within which, in lieu of the rather more common acc. of duration (*quadriduum*). **parem animum gerant**, 'show like courage'; subj. of exhortation after *hortatur*, instead of *ut . . . gerant*. **pro**, 'for', i.e. to win. In spite of Metellus' cheering words, he must have known that such a victory brought him little nearer his goal.

2. **ubi gentium . . . agigaret**, 'where in the world he might be and what he might be doing'. *gentium*: partitive genitive after *ubi*. **ut**, 'how'. **exploratum**: supine expressing purpose.

4. **ea gratia** = *eius rei gratia*, 'for the reason that'; cp. *ea formidine* (below).

5. **detrimeto**: abl. of attendant circumstances.

8. **quippe cuius, etc.**: see n. on 7. 6.

9. **ex copia**: lit. out of the facilities offered him; 'the best course that his circumstances allowed'.

10. **priusquam . . . subveniretur**. The subj. is used because the clause does not express a simple fact, but implies purpose in the minds of the Numidians. We should express the same sense by 'before aid could be brought'.

56. 1. **Zama**: the modern Djama on the frontier between Africa and Numidia, some 50 miles south-west of Carthage.

3. **Sicca Veneria**: on the Mallag, a tributary of the Medjerda; now El Kaf Schak Benaar (a corruption of its old name).

57. 5. **pitch . . . resin**, poured from vessels on the assailants.

58. 3. **non amplius quadraginta**: supply *quam* after *amplius*; it is often omitted before numbers. **pauci . . . frustrari**: i.e. they rarely missed (lit. were baffled) because they had a large target. It is also implied that they themselves had the advantage of presenting a small target. **sin . . . adcessissent**: the subj. expresses indefinite frequency, 'if ever', a rare construction in writers of this period.

59. 1. **egrederetur**: for this subj. see n. on 54. 10.

3. **facerent**: imperf. subj. used to express continuity of action; they kept doing it. **expeditis peditibus**, 'by means of their light infantry'; abl. of instrument. **victos dare** = *vincere*. This use of *dare* = 'make' is not uncommon in the old comic poets, but rare in prose.

60. 1. **eo . . . niti**, 'he pressed forward at that spot (lit. thither)'.

4. **animadvorteres**: potential subj.; 'you might mark'. **ea**: i.e. *corpora*. **vitabundi** = *vitantes*, 'avoiding', and governs *tela*. The termination in *-bundus* was originally participial, but the usage is rare in classical Latin, where the termination is usually purely adjectival.

6. **summa**: i.e. *murorum*.

62. Jugurtha had every reason to be satisfied with the results of the campaign. But he thought that the Romans were in a worse condition than they actually were, being doubtless misled

by Bomilcar. He consequently believed that he now had a chance of successful compromise.

4. Metellus took care to have a thoroughly representative *consilium*, in order to avoid all suspicion of bribery by Jugurtha. He adopted the policy of making tentative and gradually increasing demands. Jugurtha's eyes at length were opened and he broke off negotiations.

6. The deserters had good reason for flight. Of those who surrendered some had their hands cut off, others were buried in the ground up to their waists and then shot or burned to death.

8. **Tisidium**: the site is unknown.

63. 1. haruspex: a soothsayer who draws omens from the entrails of victims. **agitabat**: indic. where strictly subj. should have been used, as the clause is in or. obl. **Arpini**: birth-place also of Cicero, a hill town 60 m. south-east of Rome.

3. **altus**: past part. pass. of *alo*. **stipendiis**, 'campaigns'; lit. 'pay', but frequently used to denote the campaigns for which pay was drawn. **Graeca facundia**: not necessarily = 'eloquence in the Greek tongue', but rather 'eloquence as taught in accordance with the rules of the Greek schools of rhetoric', on which Roman oratory was based; compare 85. 32.

4. **per omnis tribus**, 'through all the tribes', i. e. by all. The military tribunes of the first four legions (six per legion) were elected by the *comitia tributa*, i. e. the people assembled by tribes. The tribe was the voting unit, and Marius was therefore elected unanimously. If more than four legions were levied, the tribunes of the supplementary legions were appointed by the consuls.

5. **alium post alium**, 'one after the other', an exaggerated statement. He had only been elected to two magistracies (tribune of the plebs in 119 and praetor in 115), while he had twice failed to be elected curule aedile.

quam gerebat = *quam ea erat quam gerebat* (sc. *potestatem*).

6. **ad id locorum**, 'up to that time'; *locorum* is partitive gen. after *id* (= 'that point of time'), and is used to denote time, not place; cp. 72. 5 and 101. 1. **ambitione praecipuus datus est**, 'was swept headlong by his ambition': a reference to the civil wars into which Marius plunged Rome (88-86) in his rivalry with Sulla. **per manus**, 'from hand to hand'. All magistracies were open to the *plebs*, but the nobles managed to control the elections to the consulship.

64. 1. superabant, 'were in abundance'.

2. **super . . . gereret**, 'aspire beyond his fortune'.

3. **per**: lit. by reason of, i. e. 'without hindrance from'.

4. **contubernium** means 'dwelling beneath the same roof', 'sharing the same tent', and is regularly used to express the relation of the A.D.C. to his general. **viginti**. Marius was 49 and would have to wait 23 years more on this calculation!

5. **grassari**: frequentative from *gradior*, 'proceed', 'press on

eagerly'. *quod modo . . . foret*: a conditional rel. clause: 'provided only it was'. *trahi*: impersonal passive: 'the commander-in-chief was deliberately prolonging the war'.

6. *corruperant*: i. e. owing to their continued absence on active service their private affairs had gone to ruin.

65. 2. Roman knights were by this period little used as cavalry, but still formed the body-guard of generals.

69. 4. Plutarch in his life of Marius gives a more sinister version of the story: 'Marius, who was one of the council of war, was not only severe upon him himself, but stirred up the other judges; so that he was condemned against the will of Metellus and sentenced to death. Later the charge was seen to be a false one; and all the other officers sympathized with Metellus, who was overwhelmed with sorrow; while Marius, far from dissembling his joy, declared that it was his doing, and was not ashamed to assert to all and sundry that he had lodged an avenging fury in the breast of Metellus, who would not fail to punish him for having put to death the hereditary friend of his family.' Plutarch states that Turpilius was spared because of the humanity with which he had governed the town.

70. 1. *suspectus . . . suspiciens*. Though *suspectus* is regularly used = 'suspected', *suspicio* generally means 'look up at', *suspikor* being used = 'suspect'.

2. *temptando*, 'in the course of trying', abl. of gerund used virtually as present participle, a common usage.

superaverant: intrans., 'had been too much for'.

3. *posceret*: subj. because part of what they had decided.

4. *inultis hostibus*: abl. absolute.

5. *accusare, testari, monere*: historic infin. in dependent clause, a rare use. *iuravisset*: subj. in virtual or. obl. = *per quos iuravisti* in direct speech. *suane . . . periret*, 'whether he should perish by his own daring or by that of Metellus'.

71. 2. *solet*: supply *capere*.

4. *ex consuetudine*, etc., 'thinking as usual (i. e. when he received a letter) that action or thought was required of him'.

5. *quae . . . facere*: i. e. he had meant to take the letter to Jugurtha himself. *super*: with abl. = 'on account of', 'in connexion with'; a rare use.

post id locorum: see n. on 63. 6.

73. 7. The people, although theoretically sovereign, were doing more than merely override a decision of the senate. The *provinciae* of the consuls had by the Sempronian law (see n. on 27. 3) to be allotted before the elections: how they had been assigned we do not know.

75. 1. *Thala*: 150 miles south of Carthage, in a waterless district. There was another *Thala* on the frontier between Numidia and Africa some 100 miles from the coast.

3. *sarcinis*: abl. of separation; 'relieved from their loads'.

7. *ad id loci*: The construction is the same as in *ad id locorum* (63. 6), but here *loci* is used in the sense of 'place'.

8. *in nova deditione*, 'who have but newly surrendered'.

9. *religione pluvia*, 'the miracle of the rain'. *religio* here = an event producing religious awe; *pluvia* is adj.

76. 4. *nihil reliquum fieri*, 'nothing was left undone'. *reliquum* here = 'left over'.

77. *Leptis (Maior)*: not to be confused with *Leptis Minor* mentioned in 19. 1. One of the three cities which gave the name of Tripoli (land of three cities) to this region. *Ligurians*: from the Italian Riviera, of which Genoa is the chief town.

78. The spot was 80 miles from Cyrene and 180 from Carthage, so that the latter gained considerably by this 'sporting' method of settlement.

81. 2. Sallust does not tell us when the Romans captured Cirta. It must either have seceded without a fight or have been surrendered by Jugurtha.

83. 1. *stultitiae*, 'the part of folly'; predicative genitive.

alienam . . . curare, 'to care for another man's interests at his own risk'. Metellus abandoned military operations, being resolved to do nothing to make Marius' task easier. On the other hand, if his negotiations with Bocchus had proved successful, he would practically have ended the war himself, which would have been a blow to Marius' ambition.

postulatum: supine expressing purpose.

85. This speech is one of Sallust's greatest triumphs. It is dramatic and thoroughly in character, except for the fact that it reveals a master of rhetoric, not the plain blunt orator who had no acquaintance with rhetoric as taught by the Greeks (see 63. 3.)

13. *eorum . . . gessi*, 'I have seen some and taken an active part in others'. Marius had served in the Numantine war (see 7. 2).

14. *pluris*: gen. of price: 'worth more'.

15. *fortissimum . . . generosissimum*, 'that the bravest are the noblest'; i. e. true nobility lies in courage not in birth.

17. *maioribus suis*: dat. of person concerned; 'let them do the same to their forefathers'.

19. *ita aetatem . . . vixerint*, 'live as if they despised the honours you can give them, but seek those honours as though they had lived an honourable life'; i. e. as if the excellence of their lives gave them a claim to office.

20. *ne*, 'verily'; a strong affirmative, sometimes written *nae*.

25. *aliena*: i. e. of their forefathers. *imagines*, 'wax masks'; noble families kept portraits of such of their ancestors as had held high office, in the form of wax masks. These hung on the walls of the *atrium* (living-room) and were taken down only to be worn by mourners at funerals. Tr. 'family portraits'. *corrupisse*, 'dishonoured'.

26. *compositam*, 'artistically composed'. *in... beneficio*, 'in view of the great benefit you have conferred on me', i. e. as the result of my election to the consulship. *in conscientiam duceret*, 'should attribute my moderation to a guilty conscience'.

27. *ex animi mei sententia*, 'in accordance with the belief of my mind'; tr. 'I am convinced that no', &c. *vera... superant*, 'truth can only speak well of me (redound to my credit), while my life and character are sufficient refutation of what is false'.

29. *hastaa... phaleras*: all decorations for valour. The spears would be *hastae purae*, headless spears, shown in ancient representations as shafts with a knob at each end. The *phalerae*, which we may translate 'medals', were embossed plaques of silver or gold, worn on the breastplate. *alia... dona*: crowns, collars, bracelets, brooches.

31. *parvi*: gen. of price; 'I count of little worth'.

32. *litteraa Graecas*. Greece provided Rome with models and rules for literature and oratory, but she had been conquered by Rome and her people were in many ways decadent and held in contempt.

33. *illa... rei publicae*, 'those accomplishments which are of most use to the state'. *illa*: acc. after *doctus sum*; *doceo* in the active takes two accusatives (person and thing taught), in the passive acc. of the thing taught. *praesidium agitare*, 'to keep watch and ward'.

34. *arte... opulenter*, 'keep them under stern discipline and myself in luxury'; *arte*, adv. from *artus*. *meam* and *illorum* are both predicates, 'make the glory mine and the toil theirs'.

35. *civile*: a method of command worthy of a citizen who realizes that his men are not slaves, but fellow-citizens. *cum... agas*, 'when you yourself live in luxury'.

38. *procul*, 'far from the truth'.

dono: predic. dat., 'as a gift'.

39. *coquum... vilium*: i. e. because I think it more important to have my farm well managed than to have a first class *chef*.

45, 46. None of the abuses here mentioned apply to Metellus any more than do the abuses mentioned in 10, 11, 12.

86. 2. the five classes, into which the roll of men liable to service was originally divided, was based on a money qualification. All those whose fortunes fell below 11,000 *asses* (about £48) were exempt. But the growth of Rome's military liabilities caused the money qualification to be lowered to 4,000 *asses* (about £11), while the poorer classes were drafted into the fleet. Marius took the best men he could get and called for volunteers.

87. The whole description of this preliminary campaign is very vague.

89. 4. *Capsa* (now Kafsá), an oasis, one of the gates of the desert, not far from Thala. *Hercules Libya*: probably the

Phoenician god Melkarth. His importance among the Phoenicians may also explain the introduction of Hercules into the story of the origins of the Numidians and Moors given in cc. 17-19.

6. *iugi*: from *iugis*, 'perennial', 'unfailing', as opposed to *pluvia* (adj.), 'rain-water'.

7. *advorsus*: adv. *lubidini* . . . *luxuriae*: predic. dat., 'to serve their luxurious appetites'.

80. 2. *Laris*: on the frontier of Africa, some 30 miles north of Capsa.

92. 5. *Mulucha*: the river Muluya marking the frontier between Numidia and Mauretania. Marius had thus marched more than 600 miles from the extreme east to the extreme west of Numidia. How long this took him we do not know owing to Sallust's vagueness as regards dates. *ceteram*: the rest of the plain; tr. 'surrounding'. *castello*: dat. after *patens*. *omnis*: supply *mons*. *natura*: abl. *consulto*, 'purposely', i. e. by the art of man.

9. *pro opere consistere*, 'take their stand in front of the works'. *administrare*: intransitive; 'work'.

93. 2. *Ligus*: a Ligurian; see n. on c. 77. *aquatum*, 'to draw water', supine of *aquari*; denoting purpose. *animum advortit*, 'noticed', = *animadvortit*, and therefore governs acc. *peteret*; 'he picked them up to eat'.

3. *animum vortit*, 'turned his mind to a fresh purpose'.

4. *quo* . . . *fert*: lit. 'whither the nature of all plants leads'. Tr. simply 'after the fashion of trees'. *gignentium*, 'plants': *gigno* means 'beget', 'produce', and the present participle is used = plants, because of their powers of reproduction.

7. *cognitum*: supine denoting purpose; 'sent some of those present to verify his promises'.

paulum adrectus, 'somewhat encouraged'.

8. *tubicinum et cornicinum*, 'trumpeters and horn-blowers': the *tuba* was the straight trumpet used by the cavalry, the *cornu* the curved horn used by the infantry: with us we have a similar distinction between 'trumpet' and 'bugle'. *quattuor centuriones*. It is not clear why he should have sent four centurions as an escort. It is clear that this escort must have been very small. But why send four 'company sergeant-majors' to protect five 'buglers and trumpeters'?

94. 1. *pergit*: supply *Ligus* as subj. *offensa* . . . *levius*, 'that they might make less sound when struck'.

2. *nisu*: dat., 'for support'. *eadem*, 'by the same way'.

3. *testudine acta*, 'in "tortoise" formation', i. e. with shields locked so as to make an impenetrable obstacle to missiles. *acta*: lit. = 'being pushed forward'.

4. *subvorsis*, 'overturned'. The *vineae* were movable shelters of no great weight. *secundis rebus feroces*, 'emboldened by the (fancied) favour of fortune'.

5. *visum*: supine denoting purpose.

6. *praeda*: nominative.

7. *forte correpta*, 'brought to a happy issue by chance'.

95. 1. **Lucius Cornelius Sulla**: afterwards Marius' bitter enemy and conqueror in civil war, one of the greatest of Roman generals (defeated Mithradates, king of Pontus, and restored Rome's empire in the East), subsequently in 81 became dictator and reconstituted the state in the interests of the senate. He resigned his dictatorship in 79 and died the following year.

2. **Lucius Cornelius Sisenna**, like Sulla of the Cornelian family, but some 20 years younger (d. 67), was a distinguished author, who wrote a history of the Social war and the civil war between Marius and Sulla. Sallust's *Histories* (see *Intro.*, p. 6) were a continuation of this work and, though only commencing with Sulla's death, probably had a good deal to say of his character. Sallust's statement that he will not have occasion to speak of him again may therefore indicate that at the time of writing the *Jugurtha* he had not yet contemplated the writing of his *Histories*.

3. Sulla's previous character did not hold out much promise of a distinguished military career, and Marius is said to have been indignant at having such a man sent him as quaestor. He little anticipated that Sulla was to be the captor of Jugurtha.

patriciae. There were both patrician and plebeian *Cornelii*. *otio luxurioso esse*: a bold abl. of quality; 'was a lover of luxurious ease'. *nisi quod . . . consuli*, 'save that his conduct as regards his wife might have been more creditable'. *consuli* is impersonal and *ab eo* must be supplied. The meaning of *consulere* here is 'to take a line of action'. It is not certain to which of Sulla's five wives Sallust is alluding nor how Sulla's passions interfered with the performance of his duties.

ad dissimulanda negotia, 'in concealing his designs'.

4. *civilem victoriam*, 'his victory in the civil war'; to be taken with *felicissimo*. *postea quae fecerit*: his massacre and proscription of the partisans of Marius and his anti-democratic reforms.

96. 2. *ea . . . reddere*, 'repaid services with even greater promptitude than if they had been money debts'. *illi* = his debtors, i. e. that his debtors might be as numerous as possible.

97. There is no indication of the site of this battle. It was probably not far from the Mulucha as Marius was starting for winter quarters. It should be noted that Sallust's account of Marius' campaign makes him cover such enormous distances (i. e. from Cirta in late summer to Capsa, then to Mulucha, and back to Cirta before winter (see c. 101), over 1,000 miles as the crow flies) that it suggests that the author has telescoped two campaigns into one.

99. 1. The night watches. The night was divided into four watches, each marked by a trumpet call.

101. 1. *quarto . . . die*, 'on the fourth day'; from what point?

Clearly not the Mulucha, which is more than 400 miles from the neighbourhood of Cirta. 2. *ordine*: see 100. 2.

3. *aeque*, 'in any case'; 'thinking that thus out of all his forces some in any case would fall upon the enemy's rear'.

4. *in manus*, 'to close quarters'.

9. *adeptam*: passive, though from a deponent verb.

omnibus occisis: abl. abs. not agreeing with *equitibus*.

vitabundus: here used intransitively; 'avoiding conflict'. See n. on 60. 4.

11. *quietem pati*, 'remain inactive'.

102. 13. *from which he had expelled Jugurtha*. A lie! His claim to this portion of Numidia rested solely on Jugurtha's promise to give it to him when the Romans had been driven from Africa (see 97. 2).

103. 1. *the King's Tower*: locality unknown.

104. 1. *Utica*: see n. on 25. 5. Some manuscripts read *Tucca*, a town 10 miles north-west of Cirta.

Billienus: governor of Africa.

105. 1. *arbitratu*, 'at whose discretion'. *consuleretur*: impersonal; 'consultations might be held'.

2. *Balearium*. The Balearic islands were famous for their slingers.

Paeligna. The Paeligni were a hardy race of mountaineers from the Abruzzi mountains near the Fucine lake. *velitaribus armis*: small buckler, leathern helmet, light javelins, and short Spanish sword. *secus atque*, 'otherwise than', i. e. worse than.

3. *temere et effuse*: i. e. they came on 'at random', probably at a gallop, and spread over a wide front.

4. *quippe victoribus*, 'seeing that they had proved themselves victors', dative after *spes*.

106. 3. *proditis*: abl. abs.; supply *iis*.

turpi . . . parceret, 'save (lit. spare) by base flight a life at best uncertain, and which maybe he was destined at no distance of time to lose by sickness'.

4. *cenatos esse*: the perfect infinitive in the sense of the present. It is hard to parallel outside poetry. The idea suggested is perhaps 'to get their supper *finished*', i. e. take it with all speed.

108. *Dabar*, being of the royal house was hostile to Jugurtha, whom he regarded as a usurper.

113. 1. *cunctatus*: supply *sit*.

3. *voltu . . . varius*, 'changing both in expression and purpose'.

5. *visu*: supine, 'easy to see'.

114. 1. *male pugnatum*. The disastrous battle of Arausio (Orange) on the Rhone, where the Roman army was cut to pieces by the invading hordes of the Cimbri, here falsely called Gauls instead of Germans.

3. *Kalendis Ianuariis*: Jan. 1, 104.

The end of the work is abrupt. We are not told of Jugurtha's death or of the details of Jugurtha's triumph, or the settlement of Numidia. Sallust concentrates his attention on the completeness of Marius' success and his hold on the imagination of the Roman people. He was now to save Rome from a peril scarcely less than that of the Carthaginian war, namely the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones.

Jugurtha and his two sons were led in triumph through the streets of Rome, the king still wearing his royal robes.

The final act of the tragedy shall be told by Plutarch (*Marius*, 12): 'It is said that, when he was led before the car of the conqueror, he lost his reason. After the triumph he was thrown into prison, where, while they were in haste to strip him, some tore his robe off his back, and others snatching at his ear-rings, pulled off the tips of his ears with them. When he was thrust down naked into the dungeon, all wild and confused, he said with a frantic smile, "Heavens! how cold is this bath of yours!" There, struggling for six days with the last pangs of hunger, and to the last hour labouring for the preservation of his life, he came to such an end as his life deserved.' He was succeeded by the half-witted Gauda.

VOCABULARY

Note on spelling.

O is printed for *E* after *V*; e. g. *convorto*.

U " " *E* in gerunds and gerundives; i. e. *-undus* for *-endus*.

" " *I* in superlatives; e. g. *maximus*, also *aestumo*, *lubet*, *lubido*.

In all these cases Sallust seems to have preferred the older spelling.

Diphthongs and final *i* and *o* are long, if not marked. Other long vowels are marked, unless consonants make the syllable necessarily long. If an unmarked vowel precedes a mute followed by a liquid, the quantity of the syllable is doubtful.

Perfects and supines of all verbs of the third conjugation are given. Under other verbs they are not given unless they are irregular.

a, ab, abs, prep. c. abl. from, by, by reason of, in direction of.

abdit-us, -a, -um, remote, hidden.

ab-do, -didi, -ditum (3), tr. hide.

ab-eo, -ii, -itum, -ire, intr. go away.

ab-ioio, -iōci, -iectum (3), tr. throw away.

abs-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2), intr. abstain.

abundē, adv. abundantly.

ac, see atque.

ac-cendo, -censi, -censum (3), tr. kindle, set fire to.

accerso, -sivi, -situm (3), tr. summon.

accido, -cidi, — (3), intr. happen, befall.

ac-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), tr. receive, welcome, hear.

āc-er, -ris, -re, keen, vigorous. *superl. adv. acerrume.*

aci-ēs, -ēi, f. line (of battle).

ad, prep. c. acc. to, against, at, for, with a view to. *ad hoc,* in addition, further.

ad-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), intr. approach, come near, to be added.

adcūrātius, comp. adv. more carefully. *superl. adcuratissime.*

ad-curro, -curri, -cursum (3), intr. hasten up to.

ad-do, -didi, -ditum (3), tr. add, give.

ad-duco, -duxi, -ductum (3), tr. lead up, bring, induce.

ad-eo, -ii, -itum, -ire, intr. go to, come to.

adeo, adv. so, to such a degree, really.

ad-ipis-cor, -eptus sum (3), depon. obtain.

adfātīm, adv. in plenty.

adflecto (I), tr. desire, aim at.

ad-fero, -tūli, -lātum, -ferre, tr. bring, cause.

- ad-fligo, -fixi, -flictum** (3), *tr.* knock down.
ad-gredior, -gressus sum, -gredi (3), *depon.* attack, approach, attempt.
ad-hibeo, -hibui, -hibitum (2), *tr.* summon.
adit-us, -ūs, m. approach.
adiūment-um, -i, n. help, assistance.
adlevo (1), *tr.* lighten, relieve.
administ-er, -ri, m. worker.
administro (1), *tr. and intr.* carry on, administer, manage.
ad-mitto, -misi, -missum (3), *tr.* commit.
admodum, adv. quite.
admon-eo, -ui, -itum (2), *tr.* warn, admonish, remind.
ad-oleo, -olui, -ultus (2), *intr.* grow up.
adpet-o, -pstivi, -petitum (3), *tr.* seek. **adpetens, c.** *gen.* greedy of.
adpropinquo (1), *intr. c. dat.* approach.
adrogo (1), *tr.* claim.
ad-sequor, -secutus (3), *tr.* obtain.
adstrictus, past. part. pass. of adstringo, absorbed.
ad-sideo, -sēdi, -sessum (2), *intr.* sit by.
ad-sum, -fui, -esse, intr. am at hand, am there.
ad-tero, -trīvi, -tritum (3), *tr.* wear down, destroy.
adulescēn-s, -tis, m. young man.
adulterin-us, -a, -um, false, forged.
adult-us, -a, -um, full-grown.
advectici-us, -a, -um, imported.
advento (1), *intr.* approach.
advent-us, -ūs, m. arrival, approach.
- advorsor** (1), *intr. c. dat.* oppose.
advors-us, -a, -um, opposite, opposing, adverse, in front.
advorsūm, -us, adv. against, up, towards, facing.
aed-es, -ium, f. plur. house.
aedifici-um, -i, n. building.
aeg-er, -ra, -rum, sick, ill, anxious. *superl. adv.* **aeger-rimē,** with great difficulty.
aegritud-o, -inis, f. sickness, grief.
aemul-us, -a, -um, seeking to rival.
aequābil-is, -e, uniform, steady.
aequāl-is, -e, level, contemporary.
aequ-us, -a, -um, equal, level, untroubled, resigned. *adv.* **aeque.**
aerāri-um, -i, n. treasury.
aerumn-a, -ae, f. trouble, grief.
aes, aeris, n. bronze, money, **aes alienum,** debt.
aest-ās, -ātis, f. summer.
aestiv-us, -a, -um, summer (*adj.*).
aestumo (1), estimate, think, value.
aest-uo (1), *intr.* be distracted.
aet-ās, -ātis, f. age, life.
aetern-us, -a, -um, eternal, everlasting.
ag-er, -ri, m. field, land.
agg-er, -eris, m. mound, rampart.
agito (1), *tr.* ponder, agitate, do. *intr.* act, be active, be.
agm-en, -inis, n. column of march.
ago, ēgi, actum (3), *tr.* pass, drive, do. *intr.* live, act. **gratias ago,** thank.
aio (3), *intr.* say.
aliēn-us, -a, -um, belonging to (chosen by) another, unfavourable

aliquando, *adv.* sometime, at length.
 aliquant-us, -a, -um, of a certain amount. aliquanto, somewhat.
 ali-quis, -qua, -quid, some.
 aliquot (*indecl.*), of a certain number.
 aliter, *adv.* otherwise.
 ali-us, -a, -um, other; alius . . . alium, one . . . other.
 alio, *adv.* in one direction, in another direction.
 al-o, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.* bring up. (*altus past. part. pass.*)
 alt-er, -era, -erum, the other; alter . . . alter, the one, the other; see unus.
 altitūd-o, -inis, *f.* height, depth.
 ambiti-o, -ōnis, *f.* ambition, currying favour.
 amb-o, -ae, -o, both.
 āmenti-a, -ae, *f.* madness.
 amicitia, -ae, *f.* friendship.
 amic-us, -a, -um, (*noun*) friend, (*adj.*) friendly.
 ā-mitto, -misi, -missum (3), *tr.* lose.
 ample-ctor, -xus sum (3), *tr.* embrace, welcome.
 amplius, *comp. adv.* more, longer.
 ampl-us, -a, -um, large, considerable.
 an, *conj.* whether, or.
 an-ceps, -cipitis, doubtful, twofold.
 ancill-a, -ae, *f.* maidservant.
 angustī-ae, -arum, *f.* a narrow place, hard straits.
 anim-a, -ae, *f.* life, breath.
 animadvor-to, -ti, -sum (3), *tr.* notice.
 anim-us, -i, *m.* mind, spirits, feeling, courage. cum animo habere, ponder.
 ann-us, -i, *m.* year.

ante, *adv. or prep. c. acc.* before.
 antea, *adv.* before.
 ante-capio, -cēpi, -captum (3), *tr.* forestall.
 ante-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *tr.* to go before, surpass.
 ante-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre, *tr.* prefer.
 ante-venio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *intr.* forestall.
 anx-i-us, -a, -um, anxious.
 apertē, *adv.* openly.
 appello (1), *tr.* call, address.
 approbo (1), *tr.* approve.
 apud, *prep. c. acc.* at, among, with.
 aqu-a, -ae, *f.* water.
 arbitror (1), *tr. and intr.* think.
 arb-or, -oris, *f.* tree.
 arbustum, -i, *n.* bush, brushwood.
 ar-deo, -si, -sum (2), *intr.* am on fire, am eager.
 ārid-us, -a, -um, dry.
 ar-ripio, -ripui, -reptum (3), *tr.* seize, snatch.
 ar-s, -tis, *f.* art, guile, accomplishment, quality.
 artē, *adv.* strictly.
 artificii-um, -i, *n.* artifice, art.
 ascen-do, -di, -sum (3), *tr.* ascend, go on board of.
 ascens-us, -ūs, *m.* ascent.
 asp-er, -era, -erum, rough, harsh, cruel, difficult.
 asperit-ās, -ātis, *f.* roughness, harshness.
 at, *conj.* but.
 atque or ac, *conj.* and, as, than.
 atrōcit-ās, -ātis, *f.* cruelty, horror.
 at-tingo, -tigi, -tactum (3), *tr.* touch, border on, reach.
 auctōrit-ās, -ātis, *f.* authority, influence.

audāci-a, -ae, *f.* daring, boldness, recklessness.
 audeo, ausus sum (2), *intr.* dare.
 audio (4), *tr.* hear.
 au-geo, -xi, -ctum (2), *tr.* increase.
 aut, *conj.* or. aut . . . aut, either . . . or.
 autem, *conj.* but, whereas, now.
 auxili-um, -i, *n.* help; *in plural*, auxiliary (foreign) troops.
 auxiliār-ius, -a, -um, belonging to auxiliary troops.
 auxilior (1), *intr.* bring help.
 avid-us, -a, -um, greedy.
 āvi-us, -a, -um, off the beaten track, remote.
 āvor-to, -ti, -sum (3), *tr.* turn aside, detach.
 āvors-us, -a, -um, turned away from.
 av-us, -i, *m.* grandfather.
 bellicōs-us, -a, -um, warlike.
 bellic-us, -a, -um, of war, military.
 bell-um, -i, *n.* war.
 benefici-um, -i, *n.* kindness, service, benefit.
 bis, *adv.* twice.
 brevi, *adv.* shortly, within a short space.
 cadāv-er, -eris, *n.* corpse.
 cado, cecidi, cāsum (3), *intr.* fall, turn out.
 caec-us, -a, -um, blind.
 caed-es, -is, *f.* slaughter.
 caedo, cecīdi, caesum (3), *tr.* kill, strike.
 cael-um, -i, *n.* sky, climate.
 callid-us, -a, -um, cunning.
 camp-us, -i, *m.* plain.
 cano, cecini, cantum (3), *tr.* to sing, sound a signal.

cāpio, cēpi, captum (3), *tr.* take, choose, catch, seize.
 cap-ut, -itis, *n.* head.
 carc-er, -eris, *m.* prison.
 cāro, carnis, *f.* flesh.
 cārus, -a, -um, dear.
 castellān-ue, -i, *m.* dwelling in a fort.
 castell-um, -i, *n.* fort.
 castr-a, -ōrum, *n. plur.* camp.
 cās-us, -ūs, *m.* chance, danger, mishap, opportunity.
 catēn-a, -ae, *f.* chain.
 caveo, cāvi, cautum (2), *tr.* to beware of, to take precautions.
 cē-do, -ssi, -ssum (3), *tr. and intr.* yield, go, proceed.
 celebro (1), *tr.* make glorious.
 cens-ēo, -ui, -um (2), *tr.* express an opinion, decide.
 cerno, crēvi, crētum (3), *tr.* see.
 certām-en, -inis, *n.* struggle.
 certo (1), *intr.* struggle, vie.
 cert-us, -a, -um, certain.
 cēterum, *conj.* but, for the rest.
 cēteri, -ae, -a the rest.
 cib-us, -i, *m.* food.
 cicātr-ix, -icis, *f.* scar.
 circiter, *adv.* about.
 circum, *adv. and prep. c. acc.* around, about.
 circum-do, -dedi, -datum (1), *tr.* place all round.
 circum-ēo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *intr.* go round.
 circum-sideo, -sēdi, -sessum (2), *tr.* besiege.
 circumspecto (1), look round.
 circum-venio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *tr.* surround, entangle.
 citō, *adv.* quickly.
 cit-us, -a, -um, quick; in swift movement.
 cīvil-is, -e, worthy of a citizen, democratic, fit for freemen.

civit-ās, -ātis, *f.* state, community.
 clād-es, -is, *f.* disaster.
 clam, *adv.* secretly.
 clām-or, -ōris, *m.* shout.
 clārītūd-o, -inis, *f.* fame.
 clār-us, -a, -um, renowned, famous, loud, clear.
 class-is, -is, *f.* fleet.
 clāv-is, -is, *f.* key.
 claus-us, -a, -um, *past. part. pass. of claudo*, shut in, enclosed.
 clien-s, -tis, *m.* client, retainer.
 coal-esco, -ui, — (3), *intr.* grow up, grow together.
 cocle-a, -ae, *f.* snail.
 coct-us, -a, -um, cooked.
 coepi, *defect. tr.* begin.
 co-gnosco, -gnōvi, -gnitum (3), *tr.* learn, know, inquire.
 cōgo, cōēgi, coactum (3), *tr.* collect, compel.
 cohor-s, -tis, *f.* cohort.
 cohortor (1), exhort.
 coll-is, -is, *m.* hill.
 colloqui-um, -i, *n.* conversation, interview.
 colo, colui, cultum (3), *tr.* treat.
 comiti-a, -ōrum, *n. plur.* elections.
 commeāt-us, -ūs, *m.* supplies.
 comminu-o, -i, -utum (3), *tr.* break.
 commod-um, -i, *n.* advantage.
 commone-facio, -fēcī, -factum (3), *tr. c. acc. and gen.* remind.
 commōt-us, -a, -um, *past. part. pass. of commoveo*, moved, disturbed.
 commūto (1), change, interchange.
 commūn-is, -e, common, general.
 comparo (1), *tr.* collect, compare.
 comper-io, -i, -tum (4), *tr. and*

comper-ior, -tus sum, *tr.* ascertain.
 comperto (1), *tr.* carry together.
 con-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *tr.* grant; *intr.* go.
 con-cido, -cidi, -casum (3), *intr.* fall.
 concordi-a, -ae, *f.* concord, agreement.
 con-curro, -curri, -cursum (3), *intr.* run together, congregate.
 condici-o, -ōnis, *f.* condition.
 condit-or, -ōris, *m.* founder.
 condōno (1), *tr.* make a present of.
 confert-us, -a, -um, *past part. pass. of confercio*, packed close, in close order.
 confectus, -a, -um, worn out, accomplished.
 con-fido, -fīsus sum (3), *intr.* trust.
 confirmo (1), *tr.* rally, cheer, make good, confirm.
 con-fiteor, -fessus sum (2), *tr.* confess, acknowledge.
 congress-us, -ūs, *m.* charge.
 coniun-go, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* join, unite.
 conloco (1), *tr.* place.
 cōnor (1), *tr.* try, attempt.
 conquī-ro, -sīvi, -sītum (3), *tr.* seek.
 conscienti-a, -ae, *f.* conscience, consciousness, guilt.
 conscript-us, -a, -um, enrolled.
 consēcro (1), dedicate, make holy.
 conser-vo, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.* (*manum*) join (*battle*).
 con-sideo, -sēdi, -sessum (2), *intr.* sit down, halt, take up a position.
 consili-um, -i, *n.* council, plan, policy, decision, judgment.

con-sisto, -stiti (3), *intr.* take my stand.
 consit-us, -a, -um, planted with.
 constitu-o, -i, -tum (3), *tr.* resolve, establish.
 constrāt-us, -a, -um, strewn.
 consuētūd-o, -inis, *f.* habit, custom.
 consuēt-us, -a, -um, accustomed.
 consulār-is, -is, *m.* consular, ex-consul.
 consulāt-us, -ūs, *m.* consulate, consulship.
 consul-o, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.* consult; *intr. c. dat.* look after the interest of.
 consulto, *adv.* deliberately, on purpose.
 consult-or, -ōris, *m.* counsellor.
 consūm-o, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* consume, waste.
 contem-no, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.* despise.
 contempt-or, -ōris, *m.* (used adjectivally) haughty.
 continuo, *adv.* forthwith.
 conti-o, -ōnis, *f.* assembly, public speech before an assembly.
 contra, *adv.* on the other hand; *prep. c. acc.* against.
 contrem-o, -ui (3), *intr.* tremble.
 contrōversi-a, -ae, *f.* dispute, controversy.
 contumēli-a, -ae, *f.* insult, outrage.
 contumelios-us, -a, -um, insulting, abusive.
 conven-io, -i, -tum (4), *tr. (c. acc.)*, meet; *intr.* come together, agree.
 conven-tus, -ūs, *m.* meeting.
 convivi-um, -i, *n.* banquet.
 convor-to, -ti, -sum (3), *tr. and intr.* turn.

co-orior, -ortus sum (4), *intr.* arise, break out.
 cōpia, -ae, *f.* plenty; *occasion. plur.* forces. ex copia rerum, in view of his circumstances.
 cori-um, -i, *n.* hide.
 corni-cen, -cinis, *m.* trumpeter.
 corn-ū, -ūs, *n.* wing.
 corp-us, -oris, *n.* body.
 corr-umpo, -ūpi, -uptus (3), *tr.* corrupt, spoil.
 cotidie, *adv.* daily.
 crēb-er, -ra, -rum, frequent, crowded.
 crē-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr. and intr.* intrust, trust, believe.
 cresco, crēvi (3), *intr.* grow, increase.
 crīminor (1), *tr.* accuse.
 crīminōsē, *adv.* censoriously.
 cruciāt-us, -ūs, *m.* torture.
 cruento (1), stain with blood.
 culp-a, -ae, *f.* blame, guilt.
 cult-or, -ōris, *m.* cultivator, inhabitant.
 cult-us, -ūs, *m.* cultivation.
 cum, *prep. c. abl.* with.
 cum, *conj.* when, since, although. cum . . . tum, both . . . and.
 cunctor (1), *intr.* delay.
 cunct-us, -a, -um, all.
 cupid-o, -inis, *f.* desire.
 cupid-us, -a, -um, desiring.
 cup-io, -īvi, -itum (3), *tr.* desire.
 cūr-a, -ae, *f.* care.
 cūrātor, -oris, *m.* agent.
 cūri-a, -ae, *f.* senate-house.
 curs-us, -ūs, *m.* running.
 cūro (1), *intr.* command.
 damn-um, -i, *n.* loss.
 dē, *prep. c. abl.* from, down from; concerning, about.
 dēbeo (2), owe, ought.

- dē-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3),
intr. depart.
- decem, *indecl. adj.* ten.
- dē-cerno, -crēvi, -crētum (3),
tr. and intr. decree, decide.
- decet, (2), *impers.* it is fitting.
- dēclāro (1), declare.
- dēcōr-us, -a, -um, comely,
seemly.
- dēcōrēt-um, -i, *n.* decree,
decision.
- dec-us, -ōris, *n.* honour, glory,
dignity.
- dēdec-us, -ōris, *n.* dishonour.
- dēditi-o, -ōnis, *f.* surrender.
- dēduc-o, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.*
lead down, withdraw, post.
- dēfēnsō (1), defend.
- dēfēns-or, -ōris, *m.* defender.
- dēfess-us, -a, -um, weary.
- dē-gredior, -gressus sum
(3), *intr.* go down from.
- dēhortor (1), *tr.* dissuade.
- dēin; dēinde, *adv.* then, next.
- dēlict-um, -i, *n.* crime.
- dē-ligo, -lēgi, -lēctum (3), *tr.*
choose.
- dēnique, *adv.* then, finally.
- dē-pello, -puli, -pulsum (3),
tr. drive off.
- dēprāvo (1), *tr.* corrupt.
- dēprecor (1), *tr.* pray to be
spared.
- dēsōen-do, -di, -sum (3), *intr.*
descend, sink.
- dēsēr-o, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.*
leave, desert.
- dēsērt-us, -a, -um, desert,
deserted.
- dē-sisto, -stiti (3), *intr.* desist,
cease.
- dē-spicio, -spexi, -spectum
(3), *tr.* look down on.
- dēstrēcto (1), *tr.* depreciate.
- dēstriment-um, -i, *n.* hurt,
damage.
- dē-vinco, -vīci, -victum (3),
tr. conquer.
- de-us, -i, *m.* god.
- dext-er, -era, -erum, right.
dextrā, on the right.
- dī-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* say,
speak.
- dict-um, -i, *n.* saying, utter-
ance.
- dīdū-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.*
distract.
- di-ēs, -ēi, *c.* (plur. masc.), day.
- difficil-is, -e, difficult; diffi-
cillumus, *superl.*
- difficult-ās, -ātis, *f.* difficulty.
- diffidenti-a, -ae, *f.* dis-
trust.
- dign-us, -a, -um, worthy.
- dī-gredior, -gressus sum (3),
intr. go away.
- dī-iungo, -iunxi, -iunctum
(3), *tr.* separate.
- dīmidi-us, -a, -um, half.
- dīr-imo, -ēmi, -emptum (3),
tr. put an end to.
- dis-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3),
intr. depart.
- dis-cēpto (1), *intr.* discuss,
debate.
- dis-cerno, -crēvi, -crētum
(3), *tr.* separate.
- dis-ciplīn-a, -ae, *f.* discipline.
- disco, didici, — (3), *tr.* learn.
- dis-iicio, -iēci, -iectum (3),
tr. scatter.
- dispertio (4), *tr.* distribute.
- dissensi-o, -ōnis, *f.* dissen-
sion, disagreement.
- disser-o, -ui, -tum (3), *intr.*
discourse.
- distribu-o, -i, -tum (3), *tr.*
distribute.
- dīū, *old abl.* by day.
- dīū, *adv.* long.
- diurn-us, -a, -um, by day.
- diuturnit-ās, -ātis, *f.* length
of time.
- div-ido, -īdi, -īsum (3), *tr.*
divide.
- dīvisi-o, -ōnis, *f.* division.
- dīviti-ae, -ārum, *f. plur.*
riches.

dīvors-us, -a, -um, different, opposite, distracted, from different directions.
 do, dedi, dātum (1), *tr.* give. victos dare = vincere, praiceps datus = praecipitatus.
 doc-eo, -ui, -tum (2), *tr.* point out, teach.
 doct-or, -ōris, *m.* instructor.
 doleo (2), *intr.* grieve.
 dol-or, -ōris, *m.* grief, pain.
 dol-us, -i, *m.* craft, trick, cunning.
 domināti-o, -ōnis, *f.* tyranny, supremacy.
 dominor (1), *intr.* rule, be supreme.
 domin-us, -i, *m.* master.
 dom-us, -ūs, *f.* house, home.
 dōno (1), *tr.* give, reward.
 dōn-um, -i, *n.* gift, reward.
 dormio (4), *intr.* sleep.
 dubito (1), *intr.* doubt, hesitate.
 dubi-us, -a, -um, doubtful.
 dū-co, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* lead.
 du-ō, -ae, -ō, two.
 dux, dūcis, *c.* guide, leader.
 eā, *adv.* there, by that way.
 ēdict-um, -i, *n.* proclamation.
 ēdit-us, -a, -um, lofty.
 ēdoc-eo, -ui, -tum (2), *tr.* recount.
 effero, extuli, ēlātum, efferre (3), *tr.* distinguish, exalt.
 efficio, effēci, effectum (3), *tr.* bring about, cause.
 effringo, effrēgi, effractum (3), *tr.* break open.
 effusē, *adv.* scatteredly.
 egeo (2), *intr. c. gen.* need, to be in want.
 egest-ās, -ātis, *f.* poverty.
 ego, mei, *pron. I.* (egomet, a stronger form.)
 ē-gredior, -gressus sum (3), *intr.* go out from.

ēgregi-us, -a, -um, excellent, extraordinary.
 ēmineo (2), *intr.* project.
 ēminus, *adv.* from a distance.
 ēnitor, ēnīsus sum (3), *intr.* strive.
 eo, ii, itum, īre, *intr.* go.
 eo, *adv.* for that purpose, thither.
 eōdem, *adv.* in the same direction.
 epistul-a, -ae, *f.* letter.
 equ-ēs, -ītis, *m.* a knight, cavalryman.
 equestr-is, -e, *adj.* cavalry.
 equidem, *adv.* assuredly, in truth.
 equito (1), ride.
 equitāt-us, -ūs, *m.* cavalry.
 equ-us, -i, *m.* horse.
 ē-ripio, -ripui, -reptum (3), *tr.* snatch away.
 erro (1), wander, go astray.
 ērudīt-us, -a, -um, trained, educated.
 ē-rumpo, -rūpi, -ruptum (3), *intr.* break out.
 escen-do, -di, -sum (3), climb, go up.
 et, *conj.* and, even, also.
 etiam, *conj.* also, even. etiam atque etiam, again and again.
 e-vēnio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *intr.* result. ēvent-us, -ūs, *m.* result.
 ex, *prep. c. abl.* from, out of, after, in accordance with.
 exagito (1), *tr.* madden, excite.
 exact-us, -a, -um, far-spent.
 excito (1), *tr.* stir up.
 excit-us, -a, -um, wakened.
 exclāmo (1), cry aloud.
 exerūcio (1), torture.
 exerceo (2), exercise, use.
 exercit-us, -ūs, *m.* army.
 existumo (1), think.
 exorno (1), *tr.* deck out.

expēdio (4), *tr.* disentangle, get ready.
 experrect-us, -a, -um, *past part.* of *expergiscor*, awakened.
 expērior, expertus sum (4), *tr.* try, experience.
 ex-pleo, -plēvi, -plētum (2), *tr.* fill, satisfy.
 explōro (1), explore, reconnoitre.
 expugno (1), storm.
 ex-sequor, -secūtus sum (3), *tr.* carry out.
 exspecto (1), *tr.* wait for, hope.
 ex-surgo, -surrexi, -surrectum (3), rise.
 extenuo (1), *tr.* thin, extend.
 extin-guo, -tinxī, -tinctum (3), *tr.* extinguish, wipe out.
 extollo (3), extol, exalt (*perf.* and *partt.* to be supplied from *effero*).
 extrēm-us, -a, -um, last.

faci-ēs, -ēi, *f.* face, appearance.
 facilē, *adv.* easily, readily.
 facin-us, -ōris, *n.* deed, crime.
 facio, fēci, factum (3), *tr.* make, do.
 facti-o, -ōnis, *f.* faction.
 factiōs-us, -a, -um, factious, turbulent.
 fact-um, -i, *n.* deed.
 fācundi-a, -aē, *f.* eloquence.
 fācund-us, -a, -um, eloquent.
 fals-us, -a, -um, false, deceived.
 fām-a, -aē, *f.* reputation, renown, report.
 fām-ēs, -is, *f.* hunger.
 famili-a, -aē, *f.* household, family.
 familiār-is, -e, family, household, intimate. *res familiaris*, family affairs.
 fateor, fassus sum (2), *tr.* confess, acknowledge.

fatīgo (1), *tr.* weary, importune.
 faut-or, -ōris, *m.* favourer, supporter.
 fēl-ix, -īcis, fortunate, happy.
 fer-a, -aē, *f.* wild beast.
 fērē, *adv.* generally, almost.
 ferīn-us, -a, -um, of wild beasts.
 ferio (4), *tr.* strike.
 ferme, *adv.* almost.
 fero, tuli, lātum, ferre (3), *tr.* bring, carry, extol, allege; *intr.* tend.
 ferr-um, -i, *n.* iron, steel, sword.
 fess-us, -a, -um, weary.
 festīno (1), *tr.* hasten.
 fict-us, -a, -um, false.
 fidēl-is, -e, faithful. *adv.* fideliter.
 fid-ēs, -ēi, *f.* faith, loyalty, credit.
 fid-us, -a, -um, faithful.
 fili-us, -i, *m.* son.
 fingo, finxi, fictum (3), *tr.* invent.
 fin-is, -is, *f.* end, boundary, (*plural*) territory.
 finītum-us, -a, -um, neighbouring.
 fīo, factus sum, fieri, *intr.* become.
 firm-us, -a, -um, sure, well-established.
 flāgitiōs-us, -a, -um, wicked, criminal.
 flāgiti-um, -i, *n.* crime.
 fle-cto, -xi, -xum (3), *tr.* bend, move.
 flūm-en, -inis, *n.* river.
 foed-us, -a, -um, revolting, hideous, disgraceful.
 foed-us, -eris, *n.* treaty.
 fon-s, -tis, *m.* spring.
 formid-o, -inis, *f.* fear.
 forsitan, *adv.* perhaps.
 forte, *adv.* by chance.
 fort-is, -e, brave.

fortūa, -ae, *f.* fortune.
 fossa, -ae, *f.* ditch.
 frāt-er, -ris, *m.* brother.
 frātern-us, -a, -um, of a
 brother.
 frēquen-s, -tis, in force.
 frēquento (1), *tr.* frequent.
 frēt-us, -a, -um, *c. abl.* rely-
 ing on.
 frūment-um, -i, *n.* corn.
 frustrā, *adv.* in vain.
 frustrō (1), *tr.* frustrate, baffle.
 fūg-a, -ae, *f.* flight.
 fūgo (1), *tr.* put to flight.
 fundit-or, -ōris, *m.* slinger.
 fundo, fūdi, fūsum (3), *tr.*
 rout, scatter.
 gaudeo, gāvīsus sum (2),
intr. rejoice.
 gaudi-um, -i, *n.* joy.
 gemit-us, -ūs, *m.* groan.
 gen-s, -tis, *f.* race, family.
 gen-us, -eris, *n.* race, kind.
 gero, gessi, gestum (3), *tr.*
 bear, wear, carry on, wage.
 se gerere, behave.
 gigno, genui, genitum (3), *tr.*
 beget, grow.
 gladi-us, -i, *m.* sword.
 glōri-a, -ae, *f.* glory.
 glōrior (1), *intr.* boast.
 grand-is, -e, great, large.
 gratiā, on account of, by
 reason of.
 grāti-a, ae, *f.* influence, grati-
 tude; *plur.* gratiae, thanks.
 grāv-is, -e, heavy, serious.
 gregāri-us, -i, *m.* private
 soldier.
 gre-x, -gis, *m.* band.
 gūl-a, -ae, *f.* gluttony.
 habeo (2), *tr.* have, keep, treat,
 think.
 harēn-a, -ae, *f.* sand.
 harēnōs-us, -a, -um, sandy.
 haru-spex, -spicis, *m.* sooth-
 sayer.

haud, *adv.* not,
 hebē-s, -tis, dull, inert.
 hērēdit-ās, -ātis, inheritance.
 hīc, haec, hōc, this (hiece, etc.
emphatic forms).
 hiem-s, -is, *f.* winter.
 hiemo (1), *intr.* winter.
 histri-o, -ōnis, *m.* actor.
 hom-o, -inis, *m.* man.
 honest-us, -a, -um, honour-
 able.
 horribil-is, -e, horrible.
 hortāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* exhortation.
 hortor (1), *tr.* exhort.
 hosti-a, -ae, *f.* victim.
 hostīl-is, -e, hostile, of the
 enemy; *adv.* hostiliter.
 host-is, -is, *m.* enemy.
 hūc, *adv.* hither.
 hūmān-us, -a, -um, human,
 humane, civilized.
 hūmil-is, -e, low, low-born.
 hūmilit-ās, -ātis, *f.* lowness.
 hūm-us, -i, *f.* earth.
 iaceo (2), *intr.* lie.
 iacio, iēci, iactum (3), *tr.*
 throw, suggest.
 iaculor (1), *intr.* throw he
 javelin.
 iacul-um, -i, *n.* javelin.
 iam, *adv.* now, already.
 ibi, *adv.* there.
 ibidem, *adv.* in the same place.
 idem, eadem, idem, same.
 igitur, *adv.* therefore.
 ignār-us, -a, -um, *c. gen.*
 ignorant.
 ignāvi-a, -ae, *f.* cowardice,
 sloth, inactivity.
 ignāv-us, -a, -um, cowardly,
 slothful, inactive.
 ign-is, -is, *m.* fire.
 ignobilit-ās, -ātis, *f.* base
 birth.
 ignōrāt-us, -a, -um, unknown,
 unexpected.
 ignosco, ignōvi (3), *intr. c.*
dat. pardon, forgive.

il-ex, -icis, f. holm-oak, ever-green oak.
ill-e, -a, -ud, that; he, she, it.
illim, adv. from that time.
illuc, adv. thither.
imbell-is, -e, unwarlike.
immān-is, -e, monstrous.
immemo-r, -ris, forgetful.
immens-us, -a, -um, boundless.
imminu-o, -i, -tum (3), tr. lessen.
immortal-is, -e, immortal, undying.
immūn-is, -e, paying no tribute.
immūto (1), tr. change.
impa-r, -ris, unequal.
impedio (4), tr. prevent, hamper.
imp-ello, -uli, -ulsum (3), tr. induce.
imperāt-or, -ōris, m. general, commander.
imperito (1), intr. c. dat. command, rule.
imperit-us, -a, -um, unskilled.
imperium, -i, n. rule, command, empire.
impero (1), tr. and intr. c. dat. command, rule.
impig-er, -ra, -rum, active. *adv.* **impigrē.**
impl-ēo, -ēvi, -ētum (2), tr. fill.
implico (1), tr. entangle.
imp-ōno, -ōsui, -ōsitum (3), tr. impose, place.
importūnit-ās, -ātis, f. insolence.
importūn-us, -a, -um, unsuitable.
improb-us, -a, -um, unscrupulous, wicked.
improvīs-us, -a, -um, unforeseen. *de* or *ex* **improviso,** suddenly.
imprudenti-a, -ae, f. imprudence, lack of foresight.
imprudentiā, unawares.
impuden-s, -tis, shameless.

impuls-us, -a, -um, driven, moved.
impuls-us, -ūs, m. instigation.
impūne, adv. with impunity.
impūnit-ās, -ātis, f. free pardon, impunity.
impūnit-us, -a, -um, unpunished.
in, prep. c. acc. to, against, into, towards, for; *c. abl.* in, on, among.
inān-is, -e, empty, worthless.
incē-do, -ssi, -ssum (3), intr. proceed, go.
incen-do, -di, -sum (3), tr. set fire to, kindle.
incept-um, -i, n. enterprise, undertaking.
incert-us, -a, -um, uncertain.
in-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3), tr. begin.
incolum-is, -e, safe, unhurt.
incrēdibil-is, -e, incredible.
incult us, -a, -um, wild, uncultivated.
incur-ro, -ri, -sum (3), tr. charge.
ind-ex, -icis, m. informer.
indici-um, -i, n. information.
indico (1), tr. show.
indigeo (2), intr. c. gen. am in want of.
indignor (1), intr. am angry, indignant.
indign-us, -a, -um, unworthy.
industri-a, -ae, f. energy, industry.
indūti-ae, -ārum, f. plur. truce, armistice.
inerm-is, -e, and inerm-us, -a, -um, unarmed.
iner-s, -tis, inactive.
inerti-a, -ae, f. sloth, inactivity.
infect-us, -a, -um, (i) unaccomplished, **(ii)** stained.
in-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre (3), tr. bring in. **bellum inferre,** to wage war upon.

- infest-us, -a, -um**, hostile to, infested with.
infirm-us, -a, -um, weak, feeble.
inflex-us, -a, -um, bent.
ingeni-um, -i, n. wit, intellect mind, character, thought.
ingen-s, -tis, great, huge.
inge-ro, -ssi, -stum (3), tr. hurl upon.
inhonest-us, -a, -um, dishonourable.
inimic-us, -a, -um, hostile, unfriendly; *as noun*, opponent, enemy.
iniquit-ās, -ātis, f. difficulty.
iniqu-us, -a, -um, unfair, unequal.
initi-um, -i, n. beginning.
iniūri-a, -ae, f. wrong, harm, outrage.
iniussū, adv. without orders.
iniuss-us, -a, -um, unbidden.
iniust-us, -a, -um, unjust.
innocenti-a, -ae, f. innocence, harmlessness.
inōpi-a, -ae, f. want, poverty.
in-sequor, -secūtus sum, tr. follow.
insidi-ae, -arum, f. plural, ambush, plot.
insidior (1), tr. c. dat. plot, lie in ambush, against.
insolenti-a, -ae, f. unfamiliarity.
insolit-us, -a, -um, unaccustomed.
in-sto, -stiti, -statum (1), intr. c. dat. press on.
instru-o, -xi, -otum (3), tr. form, draw up, arrange.
in-sum, -fui, -esse, intr. in.
intact-us, -a, -um, untouched, entire.
integ-er, -ra, -rum, uncorrupted, unhurt.
intelle-go, -xi, -ctum (3), tr. know, understand, perceive.
intempest-us, -a, -um, at dead of night (*nocte*).
inten-do, -di, -tum (3), tr. direct, intend, aim, intensify; *intr.* point.
intent-us, -a, -um, intent, eager, excited.
inter, prep. v. acc. between, among.
interdum, adv. from time to time.
intereā, adv. meanwhile.
inter-eo, -ii, -itum, -ire, intr. perish.
inter-ficere, -fēci, -fectum (3), tr. kill.
interim, adv. meanwhile.
intervall-um, -i, n. interval.
intro, adv. within.
intro (1), intr. enter.
introdū-co, -xi, -ctum (3), tr. lead in, introduce.
intro-eo, -ii, -itum, -ire, intr. go in, enter.
inult-us, -a, -um, unavenged, unpunished.
invā-do, -si, -sum (3), tr. invade, attack, seize.
in-venio, -vēni, -ventum (4), tr. find, discover.
invict-us, -a, -um, unconquered.
in-video, -vīdi, -vīsum (2), intr. c. dat. envy, grudge.
invidi-a, -ae, f. envy, hatred, unpopularity.
inviolāt-us, -a, -um, unhurt.
invit-us, -a, -um, unwilling.
iōc-us, -i, m. jest.
ips-e, -a, -um, self, very.
ir-a, -ae, f. anger.
irritament-um, -i, n. incitement.
irr-umpo, -ūpi, -uptum (3), intr. break into.
is, ea, id, that; he, she, it.
ita, adv. so.
itaque, adv. and so, therefore, accordingly.

- item, *adv.* also.
 it-er, -ineris, *n.* journey, march, route.
 iu-beo, -ssi, -ssum (2), *tr.* order.
 iūdicium, -i, *n.* judgement, trial, court of law.
 iūmentum, -i, *n.* baggage animal.
 iuro (1), *tr.* swear.
 iū-s, -ris, *n.* right, justice, law, iūre, rightly, justifiably, by law.
 iuxtā, *adv.* hard by. iuxta atque, equally with.
 Kalend-ae, -ārum, *f. plur.* Kalends, the first day in each month.
 lab-or, -ōris, *m.* toil, labour.
 labōro (1), *intr.* strive.
 la-c, -ctis, *n.* milk.
 lacero (1), *tr.* tear.
 lacrumo (1), *intr.* weep.
 lae-do, -si, -sum (3), *tr.* hurt.
 laetitia, -ae, *f.* joy.
 laetor (1), *intr.* rejoice.
 languid-us, -a, -um, slack.
 lapi-s, -dis, *m.* stone.
 laque-us, -i, *m.* noose.
 largiti-o, -ōnis, *f.* largesse, bribery.
 largit-or, -ōris, *m.* bestower, liberal giver.
 lascivi-a, -ae, *f.* wantonness.
 lat-us, -eris, *n.* side, flank.
 lau-s, -dis, *f.* praise, glory.
 lax-us, -a, -um, lax, loose.
 lect-us, -i, *m.* bed.
 lēgati-o, -ōnis, *f.* embassy.
 lēgāt-us, -i, *m.* lieutenant, envoy.
 lē-go, -gi, -ctum (3), *tr.* read, collect.
 lēgo (1), *tr.* send as envoys.
 lēn-is, -e, gentle. *comp. adv.* lenius.
 lēnio (4), *tr.* appease, soften.
 le-o, -ōnis, *m.* lion.
 lev-is, -e, light, easy.
 levo (1), lift up, support.
 lē-x, -gis, *f.* law.
 libe-r, -ra, -rum, free.
 liber-i, -ōrum, *m. plur.* children.
 libero (1), *tr.* free.
 liber-ās, -ātis, *f.* freedom, liberty.
 licenti-a, -ae, *f.* license, lack of discipline.
 licet, licuit (2), *impers. intr.* it is allowed.
 lict-or, -ōris, *m.* lictor, attendant.
 lingu-a, -ae, *f.* tongue, speech.
 litter-ae, -ārum, *f. plur.* letter, dispatch, literature.
 lix-a, -ae, *m.* camp-follower.
 loco (1), *tr.* place.
 loc-us, -i, *m.* place, ground, position, occasion.
 longē, *adv.* far.
 loquor, locūtus sum (3), *tr.* say, speak.
 lubet, lubuit, *impers. intr.* is pleasing.
 lubid-o, -inis, *f.* lust, passion, desire, caprice.
 lūdibri-um, -i, *m.* laughing-stock.
 lūm-en, -inis, *n.* light.
 lux-us, -ūs, *m.* luxury.
 māchin-a, -ae, *f.* siege-engine.
 māchināti-o, -ōnis, *f.* siege-engines.
 maer-or, -ōris, *m.* grief.
 magis, *adv.* more; *superl.* maximē.
 magistrāt-us, -ūs, *m.* magistrate, magistracy.
 magnific-us, -a, -um, magnificent, splendid. *adv.* magnificē.
 magnitūd-o, -inis, *f.* greatness, size.
 magn-us, -a, -um, great.
 maiest-ās, -ātis, *f.* majesty, dignity.

- māi-or, -us**, greater; **māiō-rēs**, ancestors, ^{older}.
maledict-um, -i, *n.* abuse.
malēfici-um, -i, *n.* wrong.
malēfic-us, -a, -um, evil doing, harmful.
mālo, mālui, malle, intr. and tr. prefer.
māl-us, -a, -um, evil, bad.
mancipi-um, -i, *n.* chattels.
mandāt-um, i, *n.* instruction, command.
manipul-us, -i, *m.* maniple, company.
man-us, -ūs, f. hand, band, force.
mar-e, -is, n. sea.
mātern-us, -a, -um, on the mother's side.
mātūro (1), intr. hasten.
mātūrē, adv. early. *comp.* **maturius**.
maxum-us, -a, -um, greatest. *adv.* **maxumē**.
medsor (2), tr. c. dat. heal.
mediōcr-is, -e, ordinary, of moderate size.
medi-us, -a, -um, middle.
mshercule, interj. by Hercules.
memōri-a, -ae, f. memory, record.
memoro (1), tr. tell, record.
men-s, -tis, f. mind, purpose.
mens-is, -is, m. month.
mercāt-or, -ōris, m. merchant.
mercōr (1), tr. buy.
mērit-us, -a, -um, deserving, deserved. **ex mērito**, in accordance with their deserts.
mētiōr, mēnsus sum (4), tr. measure.
mētor (1), tr. measure out.
metu-o, -ī (3), tr. fear.
met-us, -ūs, m. fear.
mē-us, -a, -um, my, mine. **mēusmet**, *emphatic form*.
mīl-ēs, -itis, m. soldier.
- militār-is, -e, military.**
mīliti-a, -ae, f. military service. **militiāe, loc.** in the field, at the war.
mīlito (1), intr. serve in the army.
mille, indecl. adj. thousand. *plural* **millia**.
min-ae, -ārum, f. plur. threats.
minist-er, -ri, m. agent, instrument.
minitor (1), tr. c. dat. threaten frequently.
minor (1), tr. c. dat. threaten.
minum-us, -a, -um, least, youngest. *adv.* **minumē**.
minu-o, -i, -tum (3), tr. lessen.
minus, adv. less.
mīrābil-is, -e, wonderful.
mīror (1), tr. or intr. wonder at, wonder.
misceo, miscui, mixtum (2), tr. mix, throw into confusion.
mise-r, -ra, -rum, wretched, miserable.
miserābil-is, -e, pitiable.
misersor (2), tr. c. gen. pity.
miseri-a, -ae, f. wretchedness, misery.
misericordi-a, -ae, f. pity.
missi-o, -ōnis, f. discharge.
mī-tto, -si, -ssum (3), tr. send.
mōbil-is, -e, fickle, easily moved.
moderor (1), tr. maintain the happy mean, control.
modesti-a, -ae, f. moderation, self-control, discipline.
modest-us, -a, -um, moderate, disciplined. *adv. superl.* **modestissumē**.
modic-us, -a, -um, moderate. **mōdō, adv.** merely, only; now.
mōd-us, -i, m. way, means, limit.
moenia, n. plur. walls.
mōlior (4), tr. plot.

molliter, *adv.* with weakness.
 molliti-a, -ae, *f.* softness, effeminacy.
 moll-is, -e, soft, effeminate.
 moneo (2), *tr.* advise, warn, remind.
 mon-s, -tis, *m.* mountain, hill.
 morb-us, -i, *m.* disease.
 moror (1), *tr. and intr.* delay.
 mor-s, -tis, *f.* death.
 mō-s, -ōris, *m.* way, custom. *in plural,* morals, character.
 mōveo, mōvi, mōtum (2), *tr.* move.
 mox, *adv.* soon, afterwards.
 mulie-r, -ris, *f.* woman.
 multitud-o, -inis, *f.* number, numbers, multitude.
 mult-us, -a, -um, much, many. multo, by much.
 munditi-ae, -ārum, *f. plur.* elegances.
 mūnificenti-a, -ae, *f.* generosity.
 muniment-um, -i, *n.* defence.
 mūnio (4), *tr.* fortify, protect.
 mūniti-o, -ōnis, *f.* fortification.
 mūn-us, -eris, *n.* gift.
 mūr-us, -i, *m.* wall.
 mūto (1), *tr.* change, exchange.
 mūtu-us, -a, -um, borrowed.

 nam, *conj.* for.
 nascor, nātus sum (3), *intr.* be born, spring.
 nātūr-a, -ae, *f.* nature, character.
 nāt-us, -ūs, *m.* birth.
 nāv-is, -is, *f.* ship.
 nē, *conj.* lest, that . . . not. *adv.* nē . . . quidem, not even.
 -nē, *adv.* whether.
 nec, *see* neque.
 necessāri-us, -a, -um, necessary, intimate; *as a noun,* friend. *adv.* necessario, out of necessity.
 neco (1), *tr.* kill.

negl-ego, -ēgi or exi, -eotum (3), *tr.* neglect, disregard.
 nego (1), *tr.* deny.
 negōtiāt-or, -ōris, *m.* man of business.
 negōti-um, -i, *n.* business, trouble.
 nēmo (nulliūs *used as gen.*), no one. *acc.* neminem.
 neque or nec, *conj.* nor, and not.
 ne-queo, -quīvi, -quīre, *intr.* am unable.
 neu, *conj.* and that not, nor.
 nī, *see* nisi.
 nīhil, nil, nothing. *abl.* nīhilo. *adv.* not at all.
 nimis, *adv.* too much.
 nisi or nī, *conj.* unless, if not, except.
 nīs-us, -ūs, *m.* struggle, effort, support, foothold.
 nītor, nisus sum (3), *intr.* struggle, support himself.
 nōbil-is, -e, high-born, noble.
 nōbilit-ās, -ātis, *f.* nobility, high birth.
 nocen-s, -tis, guilty. *superl.* nocentissum-us, -a, -um.
 noctū, *adv.* (*old abl.*) by night.
 nocturn-us, -a, -um, by night.
 nōm-en, -inis, *n.* name, reputation. nomen Latinum, the Latins.
 nōn, *adv.* not.
 nosco, nōvi, nōtum (3), *tr.* know, learn.
 nost-er, -ra, -rum, our; nostri, our men, Romans.
 novit-ās, -ātis, *f.* novelty, strangeness, humble origin.
 nov-us, -a, -um, new, strange. novissimus, last. novus homo, commoner.
 no-x, -ctis, *f.* night.
 noxi-us, -a, -um, guilty.
 nūb-es, -is, *f.* cloud, mist.
 nūd-us, -a, -um, bare, naked. *c. gen.* bare of.

null-us, -a, -um, no, none;
 non nullus, some.
 num, *adv.* whether.
 numer-us, -i, *m.* number,
 quantity.
 nuntio (1), *tr.* report, an-
 nounce.
 nunti-us, -i, *m.* messenger,
 message.
 ob, *prep. c. acc.* on account of.
 obiecto (1), *tr.* cast up a-
 gainst, expose.
 oblāt-ue, -a, -um, *past part.*
pass. of offero.
 oblit-us, -a, -um, *past part.*
pass. of obliuo, smeared.
 oboedio (4), *intr. c. dat.* obey.
 obscūrāt-us, -a, -um, dark-
 ened.
 obscūr-us, -a, -um, dark, dim.
 obsecro (1), *tr.* entreat.
 obs-ēs, -īdis, *c.* hostage.
 ob-sideo, -sēdi, -sessum (2),
tr. besiege, blockade.
 obtestor (1), *tr.* call to witness,
 appeal to.
 ob-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2),
tr. hold.
 obtrunco (1), *tr.* kill.
 obviam, *adv.* to meet.
 obvi-us, -a, -um, meeting, in
 the way of.
 occ-īdo, -īdi, -asum (3), *tr.* die.
 occ-īdo, -īdi, -īsum (3), *tr.*
 kill.
 ōcissumē, *superl.* of ociter,
 swift.
 occulto (1), *tr.* hide.
 occult-us, -a, -um, hidden;
comp. occulti-or, -us.
 occupo (1), *tr.* seize.
 occurso (1), *intr.* meet.
 ocul-us, -i, *m.* eye.
 ōdi, *defect. tr.* hate.
 odō-s, -ōris, *m.* smell.
 offens-us, -a, -um, struck.
 of-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3),
intr. c. dat. obstruct.

omnino, *adv.* altogether, at
 all. omnino non, not at
 all.
 omn-is, -e, all, every.
 o-mitto, -misi, -missum (3),
tr. leave, abandon, pass
 over.
 onero (1), *tr.* burden, load.
 oper-a, -ae, *f.* action.
 opē, *abl.* of obsolete ops.
 summa ope, with all your
 might. opem ferre, help.
 op-es, -um, *f. plur.* resources,
 wealth.
 opīni-o, -ōnis, *f.* belief, opin-
 ion, expectation.
 oportet (2), *defect. impers. c.*
acc. it is necessary.
 opper-ior, -tus sum (4), *tr.*
 wait for.
 oppidān-us, -i, *m.* townsman.
 oppid-um, -i, *n.* town.
 opportūnit-ās, -ātis, *f.* op-
 portunity, occasion.
 opportūn-us, -a, -um, con-
 venient, advantageous, suit-
 able.
 op-primo, -pressi, -pressum
 (3), *tr.* crush, suppress.
 oppugnāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* attack.
 opto (1), *tr.* desire.
 optum-us, -a, -um, best.
 opulent-us, -a, -um, rich,
 powerful. *comp.* opulentior.
superl. opulentissimus.
 opulenter, *adv.* luxuriously.
 op-us, -eris, *n.* work. opus
 est, *c. abl.* or used personally
 with *nom.* as subject, is
 necessary.
 ōrāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* speech.
 ord-o, -inis, *m.* row, rank.
 orior, ortus sum (4), *intr.*
 arise, spring from, begin.
 ornāt-us, -ūs, *m.* adornment,
 equipment.
 ōro (1), *tr.* pray.
 ort-us, -ūs, *m.* rising.
 os, ōris, *n.* face.

osten-do, -di, -tum, (3), *tr.*
show, point out, display.
ostento (1), *tr.* show, point
out, display.
ōti-um, -i, *n.* leisure, ease,
peace and quiet.

pābul-um, -i, *n.* food, fodder.
paciscor, pactus sum (3), *tr.*
bargain for, stipulate.
pacti-o, -ōnis, *f.* bargain,
compact.
paene, *adv.* almost.
paenitet, *defect. impers.* it
repents.
pālan-s, -tis, straggling,
straggler.
pān-is, -is, *m.* bread.
par, paris, equal, fair.
parāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* attempt to
establish.
paren-s, -tis, *c.* parent.
pāreo (2), *intr. c. dat.* obey.
pario, peperī, partum (3),
tr. get.
pariter, *adv.* equally.
paro (1), *tr.* prepare, get,
secure.
par-s, -tis, *f.* part, direction,
party, side.
parti-ceps, -cipis, sharing,
partaking in.
partim, *adv.* partly.
parum, *adv.* too little, little.
parv-us, -a, -um, small, little.
passus, -ūs, *m.* pace.
paten-s, -tis, open, wide.
pat-er, -ris, *m.* father, senator.
patien-s, -tis, patient, en-
during.
patientī-a, -ae, patience, en-
durance.
patior, passus sum (3), *tr.*
endure, suffer, allow.
patrici-us, -a, -um, patrician,
noble.
patri-us, -a, -um, of a father.
patro (1), perform, carry
through.

pauc-us, -a, -um, few.
pāvesco, pāvēo, *both with*
perf. pāvī, to fear, be afraid.
pāvid-us, -a, -um, timid.
paulatim, *adv.* little by little,
gradually.
paulisper, *adv.* for a little
while.
paulum, *adv.* a little, some-
what. paulo, by a little.
pā-x, -cis, *f.* peace.
pect-us, -oris, *n.* heart.
peculāt-us, -ūs, *m.* peculation.
pecūni-a, -ae, *f.* money.
pec-us, -oris, *n.* herd, cattle.
ped-ēs, -itis, *m.* on foot,
infantry.
pedestr-is, -e, *adj.* on foot,
infantry.
pello, pepuli, pulsum (3), *tr.*
drive.
pendo, pependi, pensum (3),
tr. pay.
penes *prep. c. acc.* in the
hands of, with.
pēnūri-a, -ae, *fem.* lack.
per, *prep. c. acc.* through, over,
owing to, by means of.
perangust-us, -a, -um, ex-
ceedingly narrow.
per-cello, -culi, -culsum (3),
tr. strike, alarm.
per-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.*
destroy, ruin.
per-eo, -ii, -ire, *intr.* perish,
be wasted.
per-fero, -tuli, -lātum, -ferre,
tr. endure.
per-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3),
tr. carry through, finish,
bring about.
perfidī-a, -ae, *f.* treachery,
faithlessness.
per-fugio, -fūgi (3), *intr.* take
refuge.
pergo, perrexi (3), *intr.* go.
pericul-um, -i, *n.* danger, risk.
per-lego, -lēgi, -lectum (3),
tr. read through.

- per-mitto, -misi, -missum (3), *intr.* allow, assign.
- permixt-us, -a, -um, mixed, confused.
- permōt-us, -a, -um, strongly moved.
- pernici-ēs, -ēi, *f.* destruction.
- perniciōs-us, -a, -um, destructive.
- per-pello, -puli, -pulsum (3), *tr.* drive, induce.
- perperam, *adv.* wrongly.
- per-timesco, -timui (3), *tr.* fear exceedingly.
- per-turbo (1), *tr.* throw into confusion.
- per-venio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *intr.* arrive, come.
- pēs, pēdis, *m.* foot.
- pessum-us, -a, -um, worst.
- pest-is, -is, *f.* plague, curse, disaster.
- pet-o, -īvi, -ītum (3), *tr.* seek, make for, ask for, attack.
- piet-ās, -ātis, *f.* piety, loyalty.
- piget, *defect. impers.* it irks, distresses, disgusts.
- placeo (2), *intr.* please, *impers.* it pleases, it is resolved.
- placidē, *adv.* calmly.
- plāco (1), *tr.* appease.
- plāniti-ēs, -ēi, *f.* plain, level ground.
- plān-us, -a, -um, level.
- plēb-ēs, -ēi, *or* plebs, plēbis, *f.* common people.
- plēn-us, -a, -um, full.
- pler-ique, -aeque, -aque, most.
- plērūmque, *adv.* generally, for the most part.
- plūs, plūris, *n. noun or adv. in sing., adj. in plur., more; superl. plūrum-us, -a, -um, most; adv. plūrumum.*
- poen-a, -ae, *f.* penalty, punishment.
- polleo (2), *intr.* am strong.
- polliceor (2), *tr.* promise.
- pollicitāti-o, -ōnis, *f.* promise.
- pollūt-us, -a, -um, polluted, tainted.
- pond-us, -eris, *n.* weight.
- pōno, pōsui, positum (3), *tr.* place, appoint.
- popul-us, -i, *m.* people.
- porrēct-us, -a, -um, extending.
- porro, *adv.* on the other hand.
- port-a, -ae, *f.* gate.
- portēn-do, -dī, -tum (3), *tr.* portend.
- porto (1), *tr.* carry.
- portuōs-us, -a, -um, with harbours.
- posco, poposci (3), *tr.* demand.
- pos-sidēo, -sēdi, -sessum (2), *tr.* possess.
- possum, potui, posse, *intr.* am able, can.
- post, *adv. or prep. c. acc.* after.
- posteri-or, -us, behind.
- poster-us, -a, -um, following.
- posteri, *m. plur.* posterity.
- postquam, *conj.* after, when.
- postrēm-us, -a, -um, last.
- adv. postremo, lastly.*
- postrīdie, *adv.* on the following day.
- postulo (1), *tr.* demand.
- potēn-s, -tis, powerful.
- potenti-a, -ae, *f.* power.
- potest-ās, -ātis, *f.* power, opportunity.
- poti-or, -us, preferable. *adv. potius, rather.*
- potissim-us, -a, -um, in preference to others.
- potior (4), *tr. c. gen.* get possession of.
- pras, *prep. c.* before, by reason of.
- praebes (2), *tr.* supply.
- prae-cēps, -cipitis, precipitous, headlong.
- praecept-um, -i, *n.* order, instruction.

praecipito (1), *tr.* hurl, headlong.
praecis-us, -a, -um, sheer.
praec-lār-us, -a, -um, glorious, highly renowned.
praed-a, -ae, f. plunder.
praedāt-or, -ōris, m. plunderer.
praedātōri-us, -a, -um, of plunderers.
praedico (1), *tr.* speak.
praedoc-ēo, -ui, -tum (2), *tr.* instruct in advance.
prae-ficio, -fēci, -fēctum (3), *tr.* put in command of (*dat.*)
prae-gredior, -gressus sum (3), *intr.* go past.
prae-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* send ahead.
praemi-um, -i, n. reward.
praesen-s, -tis, present.
praesidi-um, -i, n. garrison, guard, protection.
praesto, adv. ready to hand.
prae-sto, -stiti, -stitum (1), *intr.* excel, is better.
praesum, -fui, -esse, intr. rule, am head of.
praeter, prep. c. acc. except, beside.
praetereā, adv. besides.
prae-vēnio, -vēni, -ventum (4), *tr.* forestall.
prāv-us, -a, -um, perverse, wicked.
preti-um, -i, n. price, reward.
prim-us, -a, -um, first. in **primis**, among the first, especially.
prin-ceps, -cipis, n. (senatus) leader of, first on roll of senate.
principi-um, -i, n. beginning, main body.
pristin-us, -a, -um, former.
pri-or, -us, before, previous.
prius, adv. before, formerly.
priusquam, conj. before.
privāt-us, -a, -um, private.

prō, prep. c. abl. for, in front of, on behalf of, instead of, in proportion to *or* accordance with.
probit-ās, -ātis, f. honesty.
probo (1), *tr.* approve.
prōbr-um, -i, n. reproach, taunt, disgraceful acts.
prō-cēdo, -cessi, -cessum (3), *intr.* proceed.
prōconsul, -lis, m. proconsul.
procul, adv. far, apart.
prō-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.* betray.
proelior (1), *intr.* fight.
proeli-um, -i, n. battle.
prōfecto, adv. assuredly.
prō-ficiscor, -fectus sum (3), *intr.* set out.
prōfligo (1), *tr.* overthrow.
prō-fugio, -fūgi (3), *intr.* take refuge.
prō-gredior, -gressus sum (3), *intr.* advance.
prōhibeo (2), *tr.* prevent.
proinde, adv. just, forthwith.
prōmiscue, adv. without distinction.
prōmiss-um, -i, n. promise.
prō-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3), *tr.* promise.
prompt-us, -a, -um, ready, prompt.
prōn-us, -a, -um, sloping, easy.
propē, adv. almost.
properantius, comp. adv. more readily.
properē, adv. hastily.
propero (1), *tr. or intr.* hasten.
propi-or, -us, nearer.
propinqu-us, -a, -um, neighbouring.
propter, prep. c. acc. on account of.
prospecto (1), *tr.* watch at a distance.
prospect-us, -ūs, m. sight, view.

prō-spicio, -spexi, -spectum (3), *tr. and intr.* see far off, foresee, look forward, look out.
prospera, adv. successfully.
prō-sum, -fui, -desse, intr. c. dat. profit.
providenti-a, -ae, f. foresight, prudence.
prō-video, -vidi, -vīsum (2), *tr. and intr.* foresee, provide for, care for (*c. dat.*).
prōvinci-a, -ae, f. province, sphere of action.
proxim-us, -a, -um, next, nearest, last, neighbouring.
prūden-s, -tis, prudent.
pūbe-r, -ris, m. having attained to manhood.
public-us, -a, -um, public. adv. publicō, at public expense.
pu-det (2), *defect. impers.* it shames.
pue-r, -ri, m. boy.
pueriti-a, -ae, f. boyhood.
pugn-a, -ae, f. fight.
pugno (1), *intr.* fight.
pulv-is, -eris, m. dust.
pulvīn-us, -i, m. pillow.
pūto (1), *intr.* think.
quadrāgintā, indecl. adj. forty.
quadridu-um, -i, n. a period of four days.
quae-ro, -sīvi, -sītum (3), *tr.* seek, inquire, investigate.
quaesīt-or, -ōris, m. president of court of inquiry; judge.
quam, conj. than, as, how; with *superl.* (e.g. *velocissimi*), as (as swift) as possible.
quamquam, conj. although.
quant-us, -a, -um, how great.
quāsi, conj. as if.
quattuor, indecl. adj. four.
queo, quīvi, quīre, intr. am able.
qusror, questus sum (3), *intr.* complain.

quia, conj. because.
qui, quae, quod, rel. pron. who, what; *interrog. pron.* which? what?
quis, qua (or quae), quid (or quod), indef. pron. any; *interrog. pron.* who? what?
quīdam, quaedam, quod-dam, a certain.
quidem, adv. indeed. **ne . . . quidem, not . . . even.**
quī-ēs, -ētis, f. rest, sleep.
quī-esco, -ēvi, -ētum (3), *intr.* rest, sleep, be quiet.
quīst-us, -a, -um, quiet.
quīn, conj. but that.
quindecim, indecl. adj. fifteen.
quinque, indecl. adj. five.
quinquenni-um, -ī, n. period of five years.
quint-us, -a, -um, fifth.
quienam, quāenam, quidnam, who? which? what?
quispiam, quāepiam, quodpiam, some, any.
quisque, quaeque, quidque, each. With *superl.* (e.g. *optimus*), all the (best).
quisquis, quaequae, quidquid, whoever, whatever.
quivīs, quāevīs, quodvīs, any you please. quōvīs modo, anyhow.
quō, whither; in order that.
quoad, conj. until.
quod, conj. because.
quodsi, conj. but if, whereas if.
quōminus, conj. that not.
quoniam, conj. since.
rād-ix, -icis, f. root.
rām-us, -i, m. bough.
rap-io, -ui, -tum (3), *tr.* snatch, seize, plunder, sweep on.
re-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum (3) *tr.* receive. **serecipere, retire.**
recito (1), *tr.* read aloud.
rectē, adv. rightly.
recūeo (1), *tr.* refuse.

- red-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.*
 pay back.
 red-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *intr.*
 go back, return.
 re-fero, -ttuli, -lātum,
 -ferre (3), *tr.* bring back,
 report.
 re-ficio, -fēci, -fectum (3),
tr. refresh.
 rēgi-o, -ōnis, *f.* district, region,
 direction.
 rēgi-us, -a, -um, royal.
 regn-um, -i, *n.* kingdom, royal
 power.
 re-gredior, -gressus sum
 (3), *intr.* return, retire.
 rēgul-us, -i, *m.* petty king,
 chief.
 re-linquo, -līqui, -lictum (3),
tr. leave.
 reliqu-us, -a, -um, re-
 maining.
 reman-eo, -si, -sum (2), *intr.*
 abide, remain.
 remiss-us, -a, -um, slack,
 remiss.
 re-mitto, -mīsi, -missum (3),
tr. send back, throw back,
 slacken.
 remoror (1), *tr. and intr.*
 delay.
 remōt-us, -a, -um, distant;
 sent away.
 renovo (1), *tr.* renew.
 reor, rātus sum (2), *intr.*
 think.
 rēpen-s, -tis, crawling.
 rēpentē, *adv.* suddenly.
 rēpentīn-us, -a, -um, sudden.
 re-pello, -ppuli, -pulsum
 (3), *tr.* drive back, repulse.
 repet-o, -īvi, -ītum (3), *tr.*
 reclaim.
 repūto (1), *intr.* consider.
 requi-esco, -ēvi, -ētum (3),
intr. rest.
 rēs, rēi, *f.* thing, matter, affair,
 property. res novae, revolu-
 tion.
- re-scindo, -scīdi, -scissum
 (3), *tr.* rescind, annul.
 respon-deo, -di, -sum (2),
tr. and intr. reply.
 restitu-o, -i, -tum (3), *tr.*
 restore.
 reticeo (2), *intr.* be silent.
 re-tineo, -tinui, -tentum (2),
tr. retain, delay, keep back.
 re-vortor, revorsus sum (3),
intr. return.
 rē-x, -gis, *m.* king.
 rogo (1), *tr.* ask.
 rūd-is, -e, untrained, inexpe-
 rienced.
- sacerdoti-um, -i, *n.* priest-
 hood.
 saepē, *adv.* often. *comp.*
 saepius.
 saeviti-a, -ae, *f.* cruelty, fierce-
 ness.
 sagittāri-us, -i, *m.* archer.
 sā-l, -lis, *m.* salt.
 saltuōs-us, -a, -um, *adj.* from
 saltus. saltuosa loca, wild
 passes.
 salt-us, -ūs, pass, mountain-
 path.
 sanct-us, -a, -um, pure, up-
 right.
 sāne, *adv.* of course, forsooth.
 sangui-s, -nis, *m.* blood.
 sarcīn-a, -ae, *f.* pack.
 sapien-s, -tis, wise.
 satis, *indecl. noun and adv.*
 enough.
 sātiet-ās, -ātis, *f.* satiety.
 saucio (1), *tr.* wound.
 sauci-us, -a, -um, wounded.
 saxe-us, -a, -um, rocky.
 scāl-a, -ae, *f.* ladder.
 scelerāt-us, -a, -um, wicked,
 criminal.
 scel-us, -eris, *n.* crime.
 scienti-a, -ae, *f.* knowledge.
 scilicet, *adv.* of course, for-
 sooth.
 scitē, *adv.* skilfully.

- scribo, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.*
write, levy.
- scrutor (1), *tr.* search.
- scutum, -i, *n.* shield.
- sē or sēsē, himself, herself,
itself, themselves. secum,
with himself.
- secundus, -a, -um, favour-
able.
- secus, *adv.* otherwise, worse,
ill. secus ac (atque), other-
wise than.
- sed, *conj.* but.
- seditio, -ōnis, *f.* sedition.
- segnis, -e, slothful, slack.
comp. adv. segnius.
- semisomnus, -a, -um, half-
asleep.
- semper, *adv.* always.
- sententia, -ae, *f.* opinion,
view. ex sententia, in
accordance with his design.
- seorsum, *adv.* apart.
- serius, -a, -um, serious.
- serpens, -tis, *m.* snake.
- servio (4), *intr.* serve, be a
slave to.
- servus, -i, *m.* slave.
- severus, -a, -um, stern,
severe.
- servitium, -i, *n.* slavery,
servitude, slave.
- sī, *conj.* if.
- sic, *adv.* so, thus.
- sicut, sicuti, *conj.* as.
- significo (1), *tr. and intr.* in-
dicate, make signs.
- signum, -i, *n.* standard,
signal.
- simul, *adv.* at the same time,
also.
- simulo (1), *tr.* pretend.
- sine, *prep. c. abl.* without.
- singuli, -ae, -a, one each,
single, each.
- sinister, -ra, -rum, left.
sinistrā, on the left.
- sino, sivi, -situm (3), *tr.* allow.
- sit-is, -is, *f.* thirst.
- situs, -a, -um, placed, situated.
- socius, -a, -um, ally, allied.
- sōcordia, -ae, *f.* sloth.
- sōl, -lis, *m.* sun.
- soleo, solitus sum (2), *intr.*
am accustomed.
- sōlitūd-o, -inis, *f.* desert.
- soller-s, -tis, watchful.
- sollerti-a, -ae, *f.* watchfulness.
- sollicitūd-o, -inis, *f.* anxiety,
care.
- sōl-us, -a, -um, alone, only.
- solvo, solvi, solūtum (3), *tr.*
loose.
- somnus, -i, *m.* sleep.
- sordidus, -a, -um, coarse, low.
- spēci-ēs, -ēi, *f.* show, appear-
ance.
- spectācul-um, -i, *n.* sight.
- speculāt-or, -ōris, *m.* scout.
- spēro (1), *tr. and intr.* hope.
- spēs, -ēi, *f.* hope.
- statim, *adv.* at once.
- statu-o, -i, -tum (3), *tr. and intr.*
resolve, establish, appoint.
- stat-us, -ūs, *m.* condition,
position.
- stipendi-um, -i, *n.* pay, cam-
paign.
- strēnu-us, -a, -um, vigorous,
energetic.
- strepit-us, -ūs, *m.* clatter, din.
- strep-o, -ui, -itum (3), *intr.*
murmur, make a noise.
- studi-um, -i, *n.* love, zeal,
eagerness.
- suā-deo, -si, -sum (2), *tr. and*
intr. advise.
- sub, *prep. c. acc.* under.
- subdol-us, -a, -um, crafty.
adv. subdolē.
- sub-igo, -ēgi, -actum (3), *tr.*
compel.
- sub-venio, -vēni, -ventum
(4), *intr.* come to the help of.
- subvor-to, -ti, -sum (3), *tr.*
overturn.
- sublāt-us, -a, -um, *past part.*
pass of tollo, removed.

- succē-dq, -ssi, -ssum** (3),
intr. go up.
sum, fui, esse, intr. am.
summ-us, -a, -um, highest,
 very great, greatest.
sūm-o, -psi, -ptum (3), *tr.*
 take.
supelle-x, -otilis, f. furniture.
super, prep. *c. acc.* above,
 beyond; *c. abl.* on account of.
superbi-a, -ae, f. pride,
 arrogance.
superb-us, -a, -um, proud,
 arrogant.
superi-or, -us, higher, pre-
 vious.
supero (1), *tr.* overcome,
 conquer; *intr.* am left over,
 am too much for.
super-sto, -stiti, -stitum (1),
intr. stand upon.
supplēment-um, -i, n. rein-
 forcements.
supplici-um, -i, n. punish-
 ment, execution.
supplico (1), *tr.* pray, suppli-
 cate.
suprā, adv. before, above.
sus-cipio, -cēpi, -ceptum
 (3), *tr.* undertake.
suspīcor (1), *tr.* suspect.
sustento (1), *tr.* support.
su-us, -a, -um, his own, her
 own, &c. *suusmet, emphatic form.*
- tabernācul-um, -i, n.** tent.
taceo (2), *intr.* be silent.
tacit-us, -a, -um, silent.
tāl-is, -e, such.
tam, adv. so.
tamen, adv. however, never-
 theless.
tametsi, adv. although.
tanquam, adv. as if.
tant-us, -a, -um, so great.
adv. tantum, so much,
 only.
- tard-us, -a, -um**, slow. *comp.*
adv. tardius.
te-go, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.*
 cover, protect.
tēl-um, -i, n. weapon, missile.
temerē, adv. at random,
 casually.
temerit-ās, -ātis, f. rashness.
temperanti-a, -ae, f. self-
 control.
tempest-ās, -ātis, f. time,
 weather, storm.
tempto (1), *tr.* try, make trial
 of.
temp-us, -oris, n. time.
tendo, tetendi, tentum or
tensum (3), *tr.* (insidias)
 lay (an ambush).
ten-eo, -ui, — (2), *tr.* hold,
 keep.
terg-um, -i, n. back, rear.
terrīt-us, -a, -um, terrified.
terr-or, -ōris, m. terror.
terti-us, -a, -um, third.
testor (1), *tr.* call to witness.
thēsaur-us, -i, m. treasure,
 treasure-house.
timeo (2), *tr. or intr.* fear.
c. dat. fear for.
timid-us, -a, -um, timid,
 fearful.
tim-or, -ōris, m. fear.
togāt-us, -a, -um, wearing the
 toga, Romans, Italians.
tolero (1), *tr.* bear, endure.
tollo, sustuli, sublātum (3),
tr. remove, do away with,
 raise, lift up, exalt.
torment-um, -i, n. catapult,
 artillery.
totiens, adv. so often.
tōt-us, -a, -um, whole.
tract-us, -ūs, m. distance,
 extent.
trā-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.*
 hand over, surrender, be-
 tray.
tra-ho, -xi, -ctum (3), *tr.* drag;
 draw, prolong; debate.

trans-dūco, -duxi, -duc'um
(3), *tr.* lead over.
trām-ēs, -itis, *m.* path.
trans-eo, -ii, -itum, -īre, *tr.*
and intr. cross, cross over.
trans-fero, -tuli, -lātum,
-ferre (3), *tr.* carry over,
transfer.
transfūg-a, -ae, *m.* deserter.
trans-fūgio, -fūgi, — (3), *intr.*
desert.
transvors-us, -a, -um, aslant,
cross.
trepidō (1), *intr.* am afraid.
trēs, tria, three.
triduo, *adv.* within three days.
tri-plex, -plicis, triple.
triumpho (1), *tr.* to hold a
triumph.
triumph-us, -i, *m.* triumph.
tū-tē, thou thyself.
tubio-en, -inis, *m.* trumpeter.
tueor (2), *tr.* defend.
tugūri-um, -i, *n.* hut.
tum, *adv.* then, at that time.
tūmult-us, -ūs, *m.* uproar,
confusion.
tūmul-us, -i, *m.* mound, hill.
turm-a, -ae, *f.* troop, squad-
ron.
turmātim, *adv.* by troops, by
squadrons.
turp-is, -e, base, disgraceful.
turr-is, -is, *f.* tower.
tūtor (1), *tr.* protect.
tūt-us, -a, -um, safe. *comp.*
adv. tūtius.

ubī, *conj.* when, where; where?
ubicunque, *conj.* wherever.
ulciscor, ultus sum (3), *tr.*
avenge.
ultrō, *adv.* unasked, actually.
umquam, *adv.* ever.
undique, *adv.* on all sides,
everywhere.
ūnivors-us, -a, -um, ali.
ūn-us, -a, -um, one, alone.

the same. unus atque
alter, one or two, a few.
urbān-us, -a, -um, of the city.
urb-s, -is, *f.* city.
ur-geo, -si, — (2), *tr.* urge,
press hard.
ūs-us, -ūs, *m.* use, advantage.
ut or ūti, *conj.* as, so that,
where, how.
ūt-er, -ris, *m.* skin-bottle.
ut-erque, -raque, -rumque,
each of two.
ūtil-is, -e, useful, advanta-
geous.
ūtor, ūsus sum (3), *intr. c.*
abl. use, employ, show,
profit by.
utrimque, *adv.* on both sides.
uxor, -ōris, *f.* wife.

vagor (1), *intr.* wander.
valen-s, -tis, flourishing.
valeo (2), *intr.* am strong.
valid-us, -a, -um, strong.
vall-um, -i, *n.* rampart.
vānit-ās, -ātis, *f.* worth-
lessness.
vān-us, -a, -um, vain, useless.
vari-us, -a, -um, changing.
vasto (1), *tr.* lay waste.
vast-us, -a, -um, waste, wild.
vēcordi-a, -ae, *f.* madness.
vectiga-l, -lis, *n.* tax, tribute.
vēhemen-s, -tis, violent.
adv. vehementer.
vel, *conj.* or, even.
vēlītār-is, belonging to light-
armed troops (vēlites).
velut, *conj.* as if.
vēlō-x, -cis, swift.
vēnāl-is, -is, for sale.
vēnor (1), *tr. and intr.* hunt.
ven-do, -didi, -ditum (3), *tr.*
sell.
vēnio, vēni, ventum (4), *intr.*
come.
vent-us, -i, *m.* wind, expression.
verb-um, -i, *n.* word.
verseor (2), *tr. and intr.* fear,

vēro, *adv.* in truth, indeed.

vērūm, *conj.* but.

vēr-us, -a, -um, true. *adv.* vērē.

vescor, — (3), *intr. c. abl.* feed on.

vesp-er, -eri or -eris, *m.* evening.

vestit-us, -a, -um, clothed.

vetust-ās, -ātis, *f.* oldness.

vetust-us, -a, -um, old.

vexill-um, -i, *n.* flag, standard.

vi-a, -ae, *f.* road, way.

vict-or, -ōris, *m.* conqueror.

victōri-a, -ae, *f.* victory.

video, vīdi, vīsum (2), *tr.* see.

vigili-a, -ae, *f.* watch.

vīginti, *indecl. adj.* twenty.

vill-a, -ae, *f.* country-house.

vin-cio, -xi, -ctum (4), *tr.* bind, chain, imprison.

vinco, vīci, victum (3), *tr.* and *intr.* conquer, be victorious.

vindico (1), *tr.* avenge, punish; *intr.* followed by *in* with *acc.* punish.

vīn-um, -i, *n.* wine.

vi-r, -ri, *m.* man.

virgult-um, -i, *n.* shrub.

virītim, *adv.* man by man.

virt-ūs, -ūtis, *f.* virtue, merit, valour.

vīs, vim, vī, *f.* quantity, force, violence; vīres, *plural,* strength.

vīso, vīsi, vīsum (3), *tr.* see, go to see.

vīt-a, -ae, *f.* life.

vīti-um, -i, *n.* fault, failing, vice.

vī-vo, -xi, -ctum (3), *intr.* live.

vīv-us, -a, -um, alive.

vix, *adv.* scarcely, with difficulty.

volnerāt-us, -a, -um, wounded.

voln-us, -eris, *n.* wound.

volo (1), *intr.* fly.

volo, volui, velle, *tr. or intr.* wish for, wish, am willing.

volt-us, -ūs, *m.* face.

vol-vo, -vi, -ūtum (3), *tr.* turn over, ponder.

volunt-ās, -ātis, *f.* will, good will.

volupt-ās, -ātis, *f.* pleasure.

vorsum, *adv.* towards.

vor-to, -ti, -sum (3), *tr. and intr.* turn, change.

vōs, you.

vost-er, -ra, -rum, your.

vō-x, -cis, *f.* voice.

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